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FOLLOW THE TOUR WITH JAMES ARONSON:

Mr. K gets through despite 'security' and press distortion

By James Aronson

This report, written from four cities, will attempt not to give an interpretation of the diplomatic aspects of the visit of Premier Khrushchev—that must come later—but rather an impression of the visitor and his party, the reaction of the people who saw him, and of the several hundred newspapermen who accompanied the party for all or part of the journey across the country and back. This reporter went all the way. This dispatch will end at the trip's midpoint in California, and will pick up in next week's GUARDIAN with more on San Francisco, Des Moines, Pittsburgh and points east.

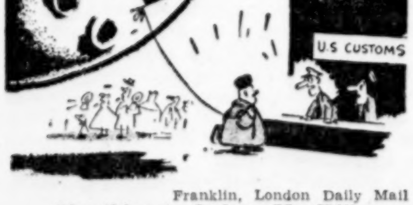
WASHINGTON

IF THE SOVIET UNION has opened a window to the West, then surely the United States, with the Khrushchev visit, has opened a window to the East. And that action, strange as it may seem, accounts for the quiet, polite, curious—even fascinated—reception given to Premier Khrushchev by 200,000 persons here, the biggest crowd ever to turn out for a foreign visitor in this reception-weary capital.

The people were not "icy . . . cool . . . hostile . . . worried," as they have been variously reported. They were interested and aware and they wanted to see. And if they were not demonstrative—although there were many instances of clapping and hand-waving—it was no surprise: police sound trucks had been moving through the capital for days urging people against demonstrations of any sort, and this is a city which is used to obedience. Further, the President, apparently after consultation with his closest advisors, set the tone of polite distance. Had he demonstrated greater warmth, the crowd would have responded in kind.

It is actually a tribute to the good sense and skepticism of Americans that there were no hostile demonstrations. For they were seeing for the first time a man who has been called a butcher, a murderer and at best a ruthless climber who outlasted all of the men around Stalin.

There was no kindness in the first reports. Even as he stepped off the plane, it was reported in ten dozen papers that he "waddled" off (for a heavy man he is surprisingly graceful and quick of movement); Hearst's Ruth Montgomery—of undetermined weight—gave Mme. Khrushchev a waddle too and dressed her in a "grey-blue suit stretched shapelessly over her bulging tummy and hips." To compound this horror, her suit "hung longer in front than in the rear." Actually, Mme. Khrushchev has charmed all with her graciousness and sweetness and she wears her clothes like your mother or mine.

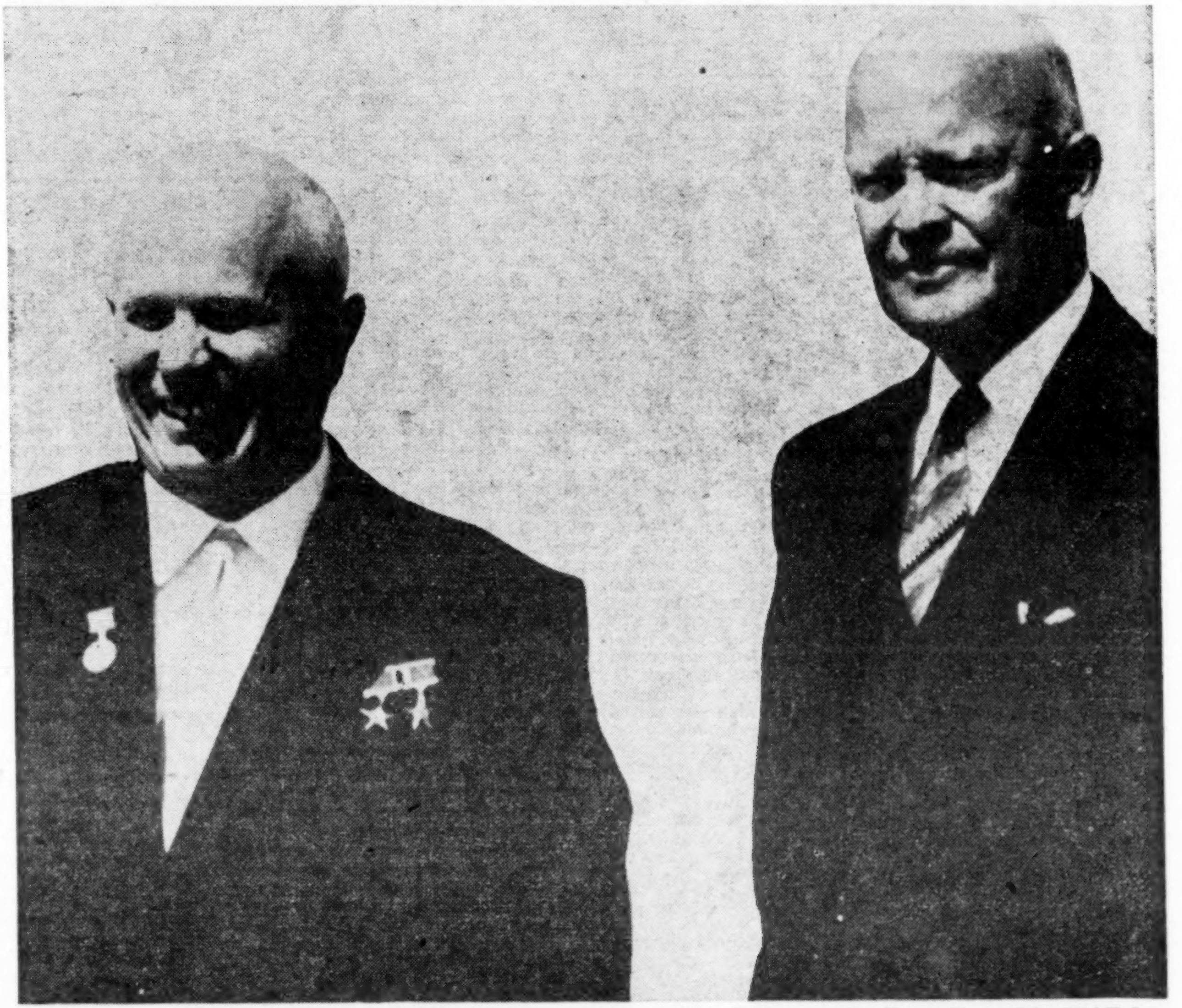


Franklin, London Daily Mail

"Anything. to declare, Mr. K?"

WHAT HE'S LIKE: But these little

(Continued on Page 6)



THE WORLD LOOKS TO THESE TWO MEN: WILL THEY MELT THE COLD WAR?

PROPOSALS GIVEN CAREFUL STUDY

K disarmament plan stirs peoples' hopes

By Kumar Goshal

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

SOVIET PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV cut through all pretense as he earnestly proposed "general and complete disarmament" to the UN General Assembly on Sept. 18. This was the lever, he said, "grasping which mankind could be stopped from sliding into the . . . abyss of war."

The Assembly's 14th annual session had been overshadowed by the presence of the Soviet Premier in this country. It had been occupied with the routine procedure of electing the Assembly president (Victor Belaunde of Peru) and other officials for the current session. Its Steering Committee had once again endorsed a U.S. draft resolution asking the Assembly "not to consider" any proposal to give China's UN seat to a representative of Peking.

Delegates of 81 of the 82 UN members heard the Soviet Premier with intense attention. The seats reserved for Chiang Kai-shek's representatives were conspicuously empty. The high point of Khrushchev's speech was his proposal for disarmament. This was its "essence":

- Within four years "all states should effect complete disarmament and should no longer have any means of waging war."
- "Land armies, navies and air forces should cease to exist."
- "General staffs and war ministries shall be abolished."
- "Military educational establishments shall be closed."
- "Military bases in foreign territories shall be abolished."
- Nuclear weapons shall be destroyed and their further production terminated; "military rockets of all ranges shall be liquidated and rocket facilities shall remain only as a means of transportation, and for the harnessing of outer space for the benefit of all mankind."
- States should retain "strictly limited contingents of police, of militia, agreed upon for each country, armed with small arms and intended exclusively to maintain internal order and protect . . . the citizens."

THREE STAGES: In a separate Declaration distributed to the delegates, the Soviet delegation detailed three stages of world disarmament. Briefly, during the first stage armed forces of all states would be reduced "under appropriate controls;" during the second stage, remaining armed forces and foreign bases would be liquidated; and during the third stage, nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons would be destroyed and their production prohibited; scientific research for war would be banned, war ministries and military service would be abolished and military budgets would be discontinued. An international control body would report violations to the UN Security Council and the General Assembly.

The Declaration conceded that even

(Continued on Page 10)

In this issue

THE FACTS OF LIFE
Report to Readers .....p. 2
LABOR AND DEMOCRATS
The "double-cross" ....p. 3
HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL
Building padlocked ....p. 4
CONGRESS AND SCHOOLS
Shortages increase ....p. 5
SCHOOL INTEGRATION
The New York story ...p. 5
LIFE OF McCARTHY
Target is missed ......p. 8

THE MAIL BAG

Grateful

PASADENA, CALIF.

I am grateful for your publishing striking accounts of the Aug. 6, 1959, Hiroshima memorial. If this was so much as mentioned by any West Coast paper I read it passed my notice. Yet it is the "story" of the month; particularly for its Linus Pauling connection which is highly dramatic.

J. G. M.

Put your name down

CHICAGO, ILL.

On Oct. 6, 1959, the U.S. Board of Parole will hold its second and decisive hearing on the parole applications of my husband, Gilbert Green, and his co-defendant, Henry Winston. Both will have served three years and nine months of their eight year sentences (five years for Smith Act violation, three years for "contempt").

This is not the first appeal you have received from me. But please do not dismiss this letter as just another gesture for a "lost cause." This is, in a sense, our "court of last appeal." What it means to me and my children, after eight years of separation from husband and father, is almost impossible to convey. For my aging mother-in-law, it is perhaps her only chance ever to see her son again outside of prison walls. For the Winstons, I know, the privation has been no less.

Yet the personal hardship of our separation is not the primary reason for writing. This parole hearing is also a test of American justice, which should be of concern to every citizen.

If my husband and Henry Winston had been convicted of a common crime like robbery or embezzlement, parole would be almost assured. Their applications meet every accepted standard—good conduct, "first" offense, length of time served, etc. Yet because they are political prisoners whose "crime" is that of holding dissenting opinions, there is strong likelihood that they may be denied the rights and privileges granted to other Federal prisoners.

Many distinguished Americans, who do not share their political views or philosophy, believe that they never should have gone to prison. Eleven similar Smith Act cases have been reversed by the courts on grounds that there was no evidence showing advocacy of revolutionary ideas calculated to incite violent action.

The number of those who have interceded for the freedom of Gilbert Green and Henry Winston has continued to grow as the facts have become more widely understood. Most recently, from the Chicago area alone, more than 50 prominent persons, 20 of whom are listed in **Who's Who**, supported the petition to the President for executive clemency.

May I urge you to write now in their behalf to:

U.S. Board of Parole
First and D Sts., N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Please send me a copy so that photostats may be presented to each member of the Board at the time of the hearing. Your letters will be considered confidential.

Lillian Green

(See p. 3—Ed.)

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Vocalist Betty Ann McCall of Fred Waring's band, commenting in Washington on a White House appearance:

"We weren't allowed to sing any Russian songs," she said. "We were going to sing a Tschaikowsky number, then we realized he wasn't recognized in Soviet Russia, so we couldn't."

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: D.L., Minneapolis, Minn.

Significant victory

CLAREMONT, CALIF.

The California teachers subpenaed by the House Committee on Un-American Activities did win a significant victory with the cancellation of the thrice-postponed hearings. However, the fight still goes on. The "dossiers" of some 93 teachers have been turned over to the California State Director of Public Education who in turn passed them on to State Attorney General Stanley Mosk. Whether these dossiers will be turned over to local school boards for hearings for teachers originally subpenaed by the House Committee remains to be seen.

The Teachers Defense Committee, 617 No. Larchmont, Los Angeles 4, remains in need of funds for continuing publicity and legal fees. One battle has been won, but the war continues.

B. H. Banta

To the rear, march

ROXBURY, MASS.

At the present rate of "progress"—74 children in five years—it will take 178,219 years to integrate all 2,637,645 Negro children at the rate of 14.8 a year. If the Negro population of school age increases at, say 15 a year, we will be progressing backwards.

E. M.

The world over

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The following telegram has been sent to the South African Consulate, 655 Madison Ave., New York, by a group of garment workers:

"We feel deeply called upon to express our anger and shock at the brutal beatings and arrests and fines meted out to working women in Durban, South Africa, as reported in the New York **Times**.

"We feel further called upon to bring before your government our vigorous protest and urge that a stop be put to these brutalities immediately.

"We are certain that our sentiments are shared by women the world over."

Esther Carroll, for a group of members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL-CIO

Dr. Benjamin Hirschon

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

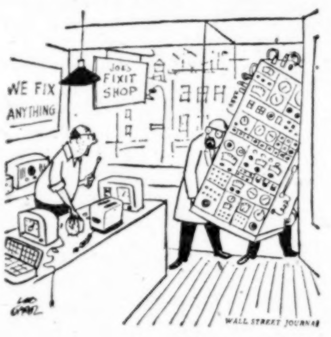
Contribution enclosed in memory of a dear friend of ours and yours, Dr. Benjamin Hirschon, who died Aug. 6.

Crown Heights Civic Group

Renounce war

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Unconditional renunciation of its right to wage war would be the surest way our government could change mankind's direction from suicide to survival. Since our political and economic leaders scorn such sensible action, let them involve themselves and their communist counterparts, alone, in any violence they deem necessary. Then their barbarism, though deplorable, would at least be appropriate. Why, however, should several hundred million people, completely innocent of instigating "incidents" over Berlin or any other issue, see mutual extermination?



Wall Street Journal

Plainly we dare not entrust the search for peace to anyone who ever considers war a proper or rational course to pursue. Therefore, only persons like humanitarian Clarence Pickett and Nobel Prize scientist Linus Pauling should represent us in international negotiations.

Most important, we must repudiate our trigger-happy psychopaths of press and politics, rather than remain expendable pawns in their diabolical global chess games.

Samuel Michaelson

For Michael Magdoff

NEW YORK, N.Y.

This contribution is a gift in memory of Michael Magdoff.

He would have been 20 years old on July 19, 1959.

Anne Rubenstein

Too lenient

NEW YORK, N.Y.

"I think we are too lenient with those hoodlums. We ought to get tough."

Yes! We are too lenient—

With the landlords who thrive on the rat-infested slums, housing whole families in one room.

With the corrupt politicians who thrive on the bribes of the landlords and who divert billions to war preparations, and away from much needed welfare services, parks, playgrounds and social agencies.

With the television and radio owners for their programs glorifying the use of the gun, the fist and the knife.

With those whose function it is to establish the mores of the times, and who hypocritically set the example, to the youth, of sanctified rascality, including murder in the jungle of free enterprise.

Yes! We are too lenient. We ought to get tough.

Joseph Spencer

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

I AM VOTING FOR PEACE . . .

I want it because I am a man. The same red blood which runs in my veins runs in the veins of those whose skins are yellow . .

I want peace because I am a priest. I will not betray the solemn declarations of the three last Popes: Benedict XV, Pius XI and Pius XII. I will not betray the secular teachings of Catholic theologians on just and criminal wars. Whatever the pretext or occasion may be, a third world war is a criminal war and even the thought of it is criminal.

I want peace because I am a jurist. In international law, an aggressive war is a crime and the whole state is responsible before the law . . .

If the worst must come, if the horrors and crimes must be again repeated, if the human beast is again unleashed, I shall have saved my honor and my reason. I am voting for peace.

—Abbe Jean Boulier in the Guardian, Sept. 26, 1949

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Vol. 11, No. 50 401 September 28, 1959

REPORT TO READERS

The facts of life

NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV comes by Presidential invitation to capitalist America as the leader of the first and foremost nation to organize itself in furtherance of the politico-economic-philosophical theorems set forth by Karl Marx more than 100 years ago. On his arrival he gave the National Press Club in Washington a brief but illuminating exposition of this body of theory in operation, in explaining what he had meant when he said "We'll bury you."

As capitalism replaced feudalism, because it "provided better opportunities to develop the productive forces of society," so socialism is replacing capitalism as "the system of society which provides better possibilities for the development of a country's productive forces, which enables every person to develop his capacities best, and insures full freedom of a person in that society." What he meant, Khrushchev made clear, was that history, not he, would bury capitalism in favor of a better system; and that meanwhile the competition of systems should proceed peacefully without war, hot or cold.

To underscore this as emphatically as possible, he then went on to the United Nations to offer his country's proposal of total disarmament, undoubtedly in the belief that whoever inherits the earth should inherit a whole planet and not a nuclearized orb of ashes.

THE KIND OF CONFIDENCE implicit in the Soviet Union's disarmament proposal may take a while to sink in. It is a confidence in the wisdom of people and the course of history. It reflects the conviction, for example, that hardly anybody can be fooled for long by Henry Cabot Lodge Jr.'s wishful substitution of the term "economic humanism" for monopoly capitalism.

Lodge himself must have winced at his own term as he prepared a concurrent set of remarks which acknowledged that Khrushchev's visit had "waked up" the American people and made them "more conscious of the great ideals on which our country rests," especially with respect to segregation of the Negro people—a problem, Lodge said, which "we work without respite to solve."

If Lodge had stopped there, it wouldn't have been so bad. But he went on to say that "only five states today keep colored children and white children wholly segregated in tax-supported schools." Khrushchev mercifully did not pick Lodge up on the contradictions in this statement, although he probably knows even better than Lodge that fewer than one percent of the South's Negro children have been integrated into the public schools of all 11 southern states in the five years since the Supreme Court decree.

IF POINTING CONTRADICTIONS were Khrushchev's mission on this trip he could have had a field day not only with Lodge's "economic humanism," but also with the performance of Secy. of State Christian Herter at the UN the day before Khrushchev spoke there.

Herter spoke in support of the Royal Laos government against threats to its freedom and independence by "forces from outside its borders;" and referred in the same context to "the revolting spectacle of the brutal Chinese Communist repression of the fundamental human rights of the Tibetans . . . a tragic story of persecution, of forced labor, of deportations, of executions in such numbers as to threaten the survival of the Tibetan race."

It is sad but probably true that Christian Herter has not had the benefit of reading Anna Louise Strong's articles in the GUARDIAN on Tibet, and may know of the situation largely via reports from Taiwan, a few thousand miles away. But there seems to be no reasonable explanation for the Secretary's leap to the defense of poor little Laos in advance of the findings of the UN Security Council's subcommittee now "fact-finding" there, especially in view of testimony given by members of his own State Dept., as well as the military, on the situation in Laos last March, and brought to light as recently as this month by I. F. Stone in his Washington **Weekly**. The testimony adds up to an admission that U. S. funds and personnel, failing to shore up a crumbling Royal government by financing forces of 40,000 soldiery and police at $1,000 per year per man and even joining in electioneering for Conservative candidates; were aiming for a SEATO or UN intervention as long ago as last January. And thus far, of an alleged 5,000 Vietminh invaders, the UN fact-finding committee can be sure of only three captives claimed to have come from over the border.

KHRUSHCHEV'S TASK, or more broadly the task of the socialist camp, is quite obviously not to bury either the Lodges or Herters, but to keep them arguing as they do in the forums of world opinion. World socialism evidently offers peace to world capitalism through its declining years, so that when capitalism's time comes to shuffle off this mortal coil, the place won't be blown to smithereens by a Parthian shot.

—THE GUARDIAN

UNION LEADERS CHARGE BETRAYAL

Dismal Congress record menaces Democrats' tie to labor

THE FIRST SESSION of the 86th Congress came in like a liberal lion in January and went out like a chastised lamb at 6:24 a.m. Sept. 15. In the intervening eight months the legislators turned the mandate of the 1958 Democratic landslide election into a record of which any reactionary could be proud.

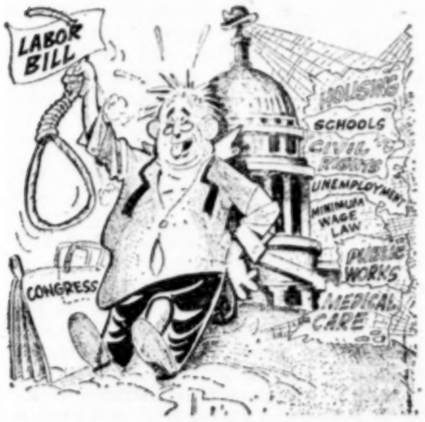
As a result, trade union leaders, for the first time in many years, began to reassess the electoral policy which has tied the labor vote to the Democrats. AFL-CIO president George Meany talked of abandoning the idea that "electing Democrats means electing friends of labor." Three-fourths of the Southern Democrats, he said, are more reactionary than any Republican.

He recommended that henceforth trade unionists should work to elect candidates, "irrespective of party, who recognize the contribution and value of the labor movement."

THE DOUBLE-CROSS: Louis Hollander, chairman of the New York State AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education, joined Meany in the acknowledgement of past errors. "I confess," he said, "that the state CIO made a mistake by allying itself solely with the Democrats. They double-crossed us, and the Republicans ignored us because they felt sure we would be on the other side anyway."

Then, in a rare pronouncement of independence, he asserted: "We are not mortgaged to anyone or any party."

The main cause of the unionists' displeasure was the stringent labor control bill which passed both houses with huge margins. Instead of enacting liberal revision of the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act, which was forecast at the beginning of the session, the 86th Congress became the first in 12 years to further hobble the unions with new legislation. Passage of the main provisions of the bill introduced by Reps. Phil Landrum (D-Ga.) and Robert Griffin (R-Ohio) revealed the outlines of the old coalition which achieved new authority during the session: the Dixiecrat-Republican alliance.



NMU Pilot

"First things first, I always say!"

Under the whiplash of this alliance, unopposed or fostered by party leaders in both houses, the liberal, labor-backed Congressmen never succeeded in forming their ranks. They either fell in line with the march to the right or gave up the battle in despair.

FAINT COMPLAINTS: Early in the session Democratic Senators Proxmire, Morse, Douglas and Humphrey complained that Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson's eagerness to squeeze the Democrat's legislative program into the specifications of President Eisenhower's budget-balancing conservatism would deprive the party of a progressive record to take into the 1960 elections. But the complaints quickly subsided.

Aside from the labor control bill, the only major act of the Congress was the admission of Hawaii as the 50th state. And this was one of the few instances in which the reactionary Democratic-Republican axis broke down. In the House and Senate, Southern Democrats were almost alone in opposing statehood.

LYNDON JOHNSON (r.) GREETS MINORITY LEADER DIRKSEN
Labor's complaint: double-crossed by one, ignored by the other

Other bills passed during the session included: (1) a $40,000,000,000 appropriation for the military establishment; (2) a 1c increase in the Federal gasoline tax; (3) a $100,000,000 appropriation for veterans' housing in rural areas, which included a rise in interest rates on G.I. home mortgages insured by the government; (4) authorization of construction of five small atomic power plants at a cost of about $78,000,000, and (5) permission to the Tennessee Valley Authority to float its own bonds for construction of new power facilities.

RECORD OF OMISSION: For the rest, the record was one of omission. Left over for the second session, which begins next January, were a general farm bill and legislation on civil rights, aid to education, housing, a minimum wage increase, aid for economically depressed areas and broadening the base of social security coverage.

Also failing of passage in the first session were several bills aimed at overturning Supreme Court rulings in several civil liberties cases. One of these, a measure to restore to the State Dept. authority to limit passports for political reasons, passed the House with a minimum of dissent, but has not yet hurdled the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Early in the session three civil rights bills were proposed, one by the President, another by Sen. Johnson and a third by a bi-partisan grouping of "civil rights" legislators. Not one measure reached the floor of either house. Two committee chairmen, Howard Smith of House Rules and James O. Eastland of Senate Judiciary, had succeeded in bottling up even the mildest of measures.

COSTLY VICTORY: As its last legislative act, Congress attached a rider to a foreign aid appropriation bill, extending the life of the Civil Rights Commission for two years. New York Republican Jacob Javits exacted from the Senate leadership a pledge that a motion would be made to consider new civil rights proposals next Feb. 15. Minority Leader Everett McKinley Dirksen said he would make the motion, "the Lord willing."

That the nation was in the midst of an era of bi-partisan conservative harmony was indicated by the legislators' appraisal of their own record. Sam Rayburn of Texas, head Democrat in the House, said: "One of the most fruitful sessions I have ever attended." Republican Whip Leslie C. Arends hailed the Republican success in "blocking a return to the New Deal policy of spending with abandon."

But George Meany's reaction, for once, seemed closer to the mood of most rank and file unionists and voters. "We soon found out," he said, "that if we got any more victories like we had in 1958, that victory might ruin us."

Leaders back clemency plea for Green, Winston

MORE THAN 100 noted Americans have joined in a plea to President Eisenhower to free two Communist political prisoners, it was announced Sept. 20 by the wives of the two men, Gilbert Green of Chicago and Henry Winston of New York.

Among those urging executive clemency were Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, noted philosopher and professor of Union Theological Seminary; Norman Thomas, six-time presidential candidate of the Socialist Party; Clarence Pickett, secretary emeritus of the American Friends Service Committee; Murray Kempton, New York **Post** columnist; Aubrey Williams, Birmingham publisher and former New Deal official, and 50 Illinois leaders, most of them listed in **Who's Who**.

Petitions for executive clemency, first of their kind from Communist political prisoners in the United States, were forwarded to the President by John Abt of New York, counsel for the two men. The petitions are signed by both prisoners and endorsed by the 100 citizens.

Under Department of Justice regulations an application for executive clemency cannot be made until parole has been denied. Both men were denied parole last November by the U.S. Board of Parole.

ALDEN WHITMAN FINED $500

Barenblatt ruling now affects 20 contempt cases

ALDEN WHITMAN, a New York **Times** copy editor, was fined $500 and placed on probation for six months on Sept. 14 for contempt of Congress arising from his refusal to be an informer before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1956. Thurman Arnold, Whitman's lawyer, said he will appeal.

At the 1956 hearings, where 14 of 18 witnesses called were past or present members of the **Times** staff, Whitman acknowledged membership in the Communist Party from 1935 to 1948 but claimed the First Amendment right to refuse to name others he knew in the party. Along with three other newspapermen who also invoked the First Amendment—Seymour Peck and Robert Shelton of the **Times** and William A. Price of the New York **Daily News**—Whitman was cited for contempt.

On April 9, 1957, Whitman was tried and convicted by Federal Judge Edward M. Curran in Washington. On the stand he said that to be an informer was repugnant to his self-respect. He added: "I also felt that the activities of my associates were lawful and to name them would cause trouble for people guilty of no wrongdoing."

ONE CASE REVERSED: Price and Shelton, who had refused to answer any questions about their political beliefs, were also convicted and later sentenced to three months in jail and fined $500. Both are free on bail pending appeal. Price was fired by the **News** after his testimony.

Peck, who like Whitman had admitted past Communist membership but refused to name names, was also convicted. But on re-hearing on July 11, 1957, Judge Luther W. Youngdahl threw out the case on the grounds that the committee had invaded Peck's "protected freedoms of privacy, thought and association."

Sentencing of Whitman had been postponed pending the outcome of the case of Lloyd Barenblatt who challenged the committee's right to inquire into political beliefs on First Amendment grounds. On June 8 the Supreme Court ruled against Barenblatt.

OTHER CASES: At present, there are more than 20 cases in the courts challenging the right of Congressional witch-hunting committees on First Amendment grounds which have been delayed awaiting the Barenblatt decision.

In New York on Oct. 16 a conference on "Unconstitutional Punishment by Congressional Committees" will be held by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee at the New Yorker hotel. Corliss Lamont will be chairman and ECLC counsel Leonard Boudin and Victor Rabinowitz will review civil liberties "From the Hollywood Ten to the Barenblatt Case."

SAVE THE DATE

G.S.T.
XII
I
II
III
IV
V
VI
VII
VIII
IX
X
XI
(GUARDIAN SAVING TIME)

11th
ANNIVERSARY DINNER
WED. EVE., NOVEMBER 18
IN NEW YORK CITY

THE CRIME: RACIAL UNITY

State padlocks one building at Highlander Folk School

THE STATE OF Tennessee has lost the latest round in its fight to shut down the interracial Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, but a Circuit Court judge has ordered that one of the school's dozen buildings be temporarily padlocked on a charge of illegally selling beer. The ruling was made on Sept. 17.

The padlocked building is the 27-year-old school's main structure; in addition to administrative offices, it contains the kitchen, dining room and much of the dormitory space. Director Myles Horton said that its closing "will be a blow, but we can manage. We'll not be able to house or feed large groups."

The padlock order came after three days of hearings arising from a police raid on the adult education center on July 31. Mrs. Septima P. Clark, 61, Negro educational director of the institution, was arrested on a charge of illegal possession of liquor and three white teachers, Brent E. Barksdale, 22, and Guy H. Carawan, 32, both of Los Angeles, and Perry M. Sturges, 34, of Shelter Island Heights, Long Island, were charged with drunkenness and resisting arrest.

'AN AVERAGE BOY': During the hearings Judge Chester C. Chattin ruled that the search warrant used in the raid was not valid and barred from evidence all information and material acquired during it. The ruling is expected to have a bearing on grand jury action against Mrs. Clark, who calls the charge against her "preposterous."

The state's petition for a complete shutdown of the school charged it with general disorders and immorality but the judge ruled no case had been made on these complaints. He said: "I can't close this whole school because the only acts of nuisance occurred in one building, and that is the building where beer was sold."

The state produced 17 witnesses against the school, six of whom had police records. One was a 17-year-old fresh out of a reformatory for theft who also admitted stealing "four shopping bags of whiskey" from the private residence of a Highlander staff member. A deputy sheriff raised eyebrows in the courtroom when he identified the youth as "an average boy in his community."

Another state witness was a professional segregationist from Georgia who testified he entered the school in 1957 to take pictures of interracial dances and classes. He said he had been assigned this undertaking by Marvin Griffin, then Governor of Georgia, "to find if this malignancy of NAACP and communism was leaking over into Georgia."

OUT OF ORDER: During cross-examination of Myles Horton, District Attorney General Albert F. Sloan asked him if he stored whiskey in his residence and added quickly: "You don't have to answer that, you can plead the Fifth Amendment." The judge angrily gaveled him out of order and growled: "I'll advise the witnesses of their rights. Now let me see you treat the witness with some respect."

The Highlander Folk School specializes in training for work in the labor movement and in the field of racial equality and is supported by many prominent liberals throughout the country. Witnesses in its behalf included several Southern educators and religious leaders. They described it as an important center of adult education and denied that beer or whiskey had been sold on its premises.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt in her column on Sept. 14 wrote: "This seems to me just another attempt, failing the communist charge, to close up a school which has been doing excellent labor education and which has been proving day by day that colored people and white people can live, work and play together and grow in a Christian spirit of understanding and charity."

The school was investigated earlier this year by a committee of the State legislature which recommended that its charter be revoked, but prosecutor Sloan said he thought he had a better chance to shut it down through a police raid. A hearing on the question of revoking the charter is scheduled for November.

CLUB-WIELDING SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE BREAK UP A WOMEN'S DEMONSTRATION NEAR PRETORIA

Mass arrests mark the current struggle, which began with a protest march against compulsory passes for women

THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF PROTEST MARCH

Women lead struggle for freedom in South Africa

THROUGHOUT the Union of South Africa on Aug. 9, African women celebrated the third anniversary of the women's anti-pass protest march to the government's Union Building in Johannesburg. By law women are required to carry passes—identification cards—which they must produce when asked by policemen.

Into Johannesburg, Durban, Kimberley, Bloemfontein, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town poured thousands of African women, clad in Basuto blankets and costumes of beads and skins. They began by observing ten minutes' silence in prayer "for people driven to perdition and those groaning and moaning in prisons and slave farms as a result of the pass laws." The theme of the celebration was: "We shall not rest until we have won for our children the right to freedom, justice and security."

PRAY FOR STRENGTH: At the Johannesburg meeting, African, Indian and European ministers of various denominations spoke and offered prayers. More than a hundred volunteers in the African National Congress uniform, including men, women and children, surrounded the gathering. Rev. Douglas Thompson, now on trial for treason, summed up the issues as he prayed for strength for the women in their struggle:

"Help them not to be subservient to the laws which are against God's laws. Help them to strive for freedom, not only for themselves but for all those who are shackled. Help us to accept those things which are right and fight against those things which are wrong. Grant that the things which we are working for may be realized in our lifetime."

The Aug. 9 celebrations underscored the increasingly important role the African women have been playing in the struggle for freedom. They have been in the forefront of the struggle since the government, in its efforts to crush the African National Congress, banned Congress leaders from addressing meetings and banished some of them to distant parts of the country.

THE ISSUES: Among those banned have been Congress President Chief Albert Luthuli and his deputy, attorney Oliver Tambo; Ben Bartman, chairman of one of the Congress' strongest branches; and Joseph Kumalo, who has fought the pass laws for 40 years. Luthuli has been confined to his home town. Bartman has been sent for an indefinite period among a tribe whose language he does not speak. Kumalo, who had been exiled in 1956 and brought back to be tried for treason, has been banished again into a sparsely populated section of the country.

Since last June, women have taken up the fight against repressive laws, low wages, forced labor on white-owned farms, work on forest clearance projects without pay, increased taxation, forced resettlement and identity cards for African women. They have been especially active in Natal Province.

On Aug. 17, more than 1,000 women carrying spears, sticks and shields marched on an Anglican mission near Harding in Natal to demonstrate against forced labor on farms. Policemen and armored cars dispersed them. On the same day in another town, hundreds of women stopped seven buses and demanded that they be taken to a prison so that they could "rescue our compatriots jailed there." Police arrested 114.

MASS ARRESTS: On Aug. 18, 150 women urged African workers on a farm to strike for higher wages. The men drove the women away, but they quit their jobs. Later in court 118 women were sentenced to fines of $28 or two months in jail at hard labor. They chose jail.

The same day 75 women were sentenced to three months in jail for setting up a road block; 80 more women were arrested after they had stopped a bus and demanded to be taken to the local commissioner to lodge a protest.

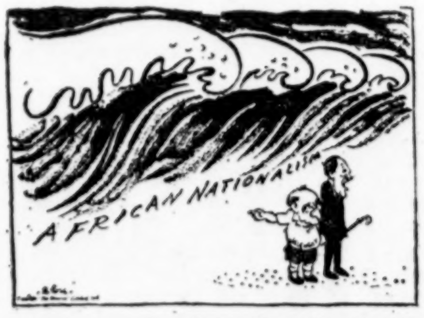
Demonstrations and protests have been conducted by women against the government's policies on cattle dipping to prevent disease. Women are forced to carry water for the dipping tanks without compensation, but are charged for the cattle dipped. On Aug. 22 160 women were arrested for attempting to destroy a dipping tank. They refused to pay a $14 fine and went to jail for six weeks.

LIBERALS BANNED: The South African government continues to ban white liberals sympathetic to the Africans' cause and is proceeding with the famous treason trial.

Last month the government banned Ronald Segal, editor of the progressive quarterly, **Africa South**, from attending any meetings for five years. Segal belongs to no political party or organization, except the treason trial defense fund. Also banned is Lionel Forman, editor of the left-wing South African weekly, **New Age**, now facing trial on a charge of treason.

The treason trial itself reopened last month, when the Pretoria court agreed to the prosecution of 30 defendants, African and white, for "conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence."

Of the 250 persons arrested in 1956, the government had to drop charges against all but 91 for lack of sufficient evidence. Last April, the Pretoria court quashed the indictment against 61. The government planned to appeal this decision as it proceeded against the remaining 30.



Abu in the London Observer

"HELP! A PLOT!"

LITTLE ROCK IN NEW YORK?

Negroes demand, whites fight transfers to better schools

By Louis E. Burnham

WHEN NEW YORK CITY'S schools opened on Sept. 14 the nation was shocked by the unlikely and unseemly spectacle of white parents keeping their children home and picketing school buildings as a protest against the integration of Negro children in predominantly-white schools.

"Blacks Go Home" signs had been painted on the walls of P.S. 68, one of five sparsely-attended schools in the Glendale-Ridgewood neighborhoods of Queens to which 364 Negro children were to be transferred from overcrowded schools in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn.

Before the children arrived a Negro janitor painted over the sign. But nothing could be done to remove the parents who stood and marched, sullen and hateful, in a vain effort to keep out the nine- and ten-year-old "invaders."

LILY WHITE AND CLEAN: The picket line was the climax of a three-month campaign by Queens residents to prevent the transfer. They had appealed in vain to the Board of Education and to State Commissioner of Education James E. Allen Jr. In all their protests spokesmen for the white parents disclaimed race bias as their motivation. They simply wanted to maintain the principle of neighborhood schools, they said. And they felt the appropriation of funds to transport the Negro children three miles across a county line was an illegal use of public money.

STOP
TRANSPLANTING
NEIGHBORHOODS
MORE
BOOKS
LESS
BUSSES

MARCHING FOR BIGOTRY _
White parents protest integration

As they stood in front of the school, however, they abandoned polite legalisms. One woman told a reporter: "Right now they're just going to school here but pretty soon they'll start to creep into the neighborhood." Another long-time resident in the conservative German-American community asserted: "They just renovated this school and it's just not fair to bring these other kids in. They'll make a mess of it."

A man on the edge of the crowd was even more explicit: "What the hell do they have to bring these niggers in for?"

THE KIDS LIKE IT: Meanwhile, within the five affected schools, classes were conducted as usual, despite the absence of 971 white children, 42% of normal enrollment. At one school the principal, Mrs. Florence Scharf, told the Negro children: "This is your school now. You are our children, and we hope you will like it here."

The Negro youngsters seemed to like it. One of them was pleased because he got "lots of homework"—he had never been given much to do in his former school. Another was pleased with the lunchroom—there had been none where he came from. Many had never attended full-session classes before.

As the Negro children emerged from the school to enter the buses and return home, a neighborhood woman exclaimed: "Aw, what a shame, such little kids. Looka them hangin' on each other's hands. All this fuss over 10-year-olds." Then she escorted her own two youngsters home.

HARLEM BOYCOTT: The sense of shame seemed to prevail, for on the second day the picket line failed to materialize and attendance returned to normal. On the last day of the first school week a handful of pickets reappeared at two schools, but community leaders pointed out they were not connected with any of the local parents' organizations. A threat to have their children demand lunch in the school cafeteria, thus overtaxing its limited facilities, was all that remained of the white parents' revolt.

Meanwhile, in Harlem 200 Negro parents announced a boycott of their own. They would not send their children to Junior High Schools 136, 139 and 120, they said, because these schools were segregated and inferior. They proposed to demand admission of their youngsters in schools in the predominantly-white Inwood neighborhood in upper Manhattan and the Riverdale area of the Bronx.

School Superintendent Theodore J. Theobold denied that the Harlem schools were inferior but simultaneously promised to bring them up to par by assigning more teachers of remedial reading, clerical help and personnel for guidance and special services.

Paul K. Zuber, attorney for the parents, obtained a show-cause order requiring Theobold to explain why the Negro pupils should not be transferred. Supreme Court Justice Owen McGivern gave the school official until Oct. 13 to answer.

DIXIECRATS HAPPY: The Manhattan branch of the NAACP urged the Negro parents to enroll their children in the neighborhood schools pending the outcome of the case. The majority agreed, but a few insisted on keeping their children out of the blighted Harlem schools and made plans for private tutoring.

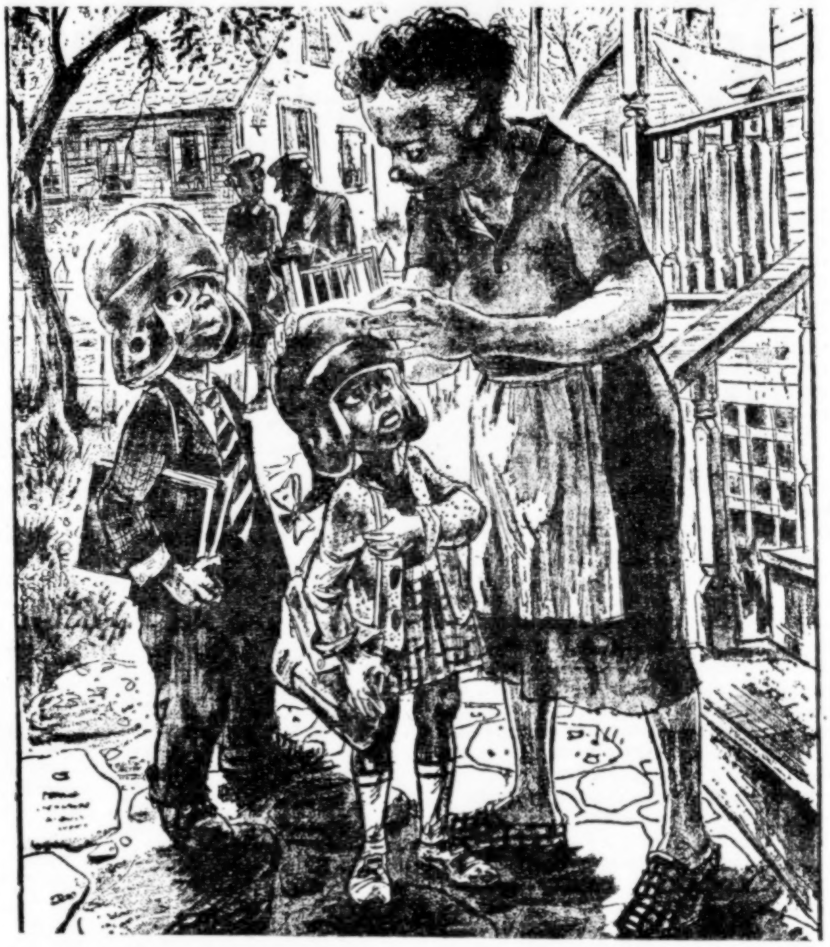
Southern racist propagandists have been quick to seize on New York's difficulties to contend that integration is impractical anywhere and that race relations are worse in the North than in Dixie. The record does not bear them out.

New York's current integration problems can be traced to the Supreme Court school integration decision of 1954. The decision forced official and public acknowledgement that the school system in the nation's largest city, while in principle integrated, was in fact largely jimcrow.

NOT LIKE DIXIE: A 1957 count revealed that in 341 of New York's 704 schools 90% or more of the pupils are white. In another 35 elementary and junior high schools 30% or more of the pupils are Negro. One school has an equally preponderant Puerto Rican attendance and in 77 others Negroes and Puerto Rican students combine to make up almost the entire school population.

Investigation also showed that the schools in the segregated Negro and Puerto Rican neighborhoods were usually older and more dilapidated than schools in white areas; that the quality of instruction was inferior because of the utilization of fewer permanent teachers and more substitutes than in other communities; that guidance facilities were at a minimum, and that by the time they reached the eighth grade Negro and Puerto Rican children lagged more than two years behind white children in achievement on reading and arithmetic tests.

The New York situation is bad enough. But full integration is public policy there. And the present crisis rises from the effort, however imperfect, to achieve it. One cannot say as much for Little Rock or Dixie.



Ollie Harrington, Pittsburgh Courier

"Now don't forget, Li'l Bub, if that crowd of white folks is standin' round in front of the schoolhouse, don't let Sis take her helmet off!"

CONGRESS IGNORES SCHOOLS

Lack of teachers and classrooms now more acute than ever before

By Robert E. Light

BY NOW every schoolboy knows what Congress failed to learn before adjourning: The shortage of classrooms and teachers is worse now than ever.

As schools opened this month, elementary and secondary schools were short 140,000 classrooms and 195,000 teachers. Last year the country lacked about the same number of classrooms but the teacher shortage was only 182,000.

According to Health, Education and Welfare Secy. Arthur S. Flemming, "the number of pupils whose education is being impaired . . . by the classroom shortage is about 10,000,000."

Since the war school-age population has increased much faster than school construction. In 1955 there were 37,300,000 children and youths between the ages of five and 17. This year there are 43,347,000. By 1963 the U.S. Office of Education expects there will be 48,815,000.

THE ECONOMICS: The basic cause of the teacher shortage is simple economics: The average earning of teachers is $4,520 a year; professional people generally average $7,600 a year. Men, responsible for support of families, have had to turn from teaching. There is a 10.9% turnover in teachers annually. A survey by the Natl. Education Assn. reports that three-fourths of all teachers are women.

The NEA survey also compared the salaries offered by 20 Chicago corporations to recent college graduates with starting salaries of teachers: business offered $4,800 to $5,300 a year; teachers in Chicago start at $3,900.

Of the male teachers queried, only half would take up teaching again if they had a choice. But low salaries are not the teacher's only frustration. Charles Cogen, president of the AFL-CIO American Fedn. of Teachers, points out: "The overcrowding occasioned by the shortage of classrooms makes it impossible for the conscientious teacher to do a competent job . . . [and] overcrowding increases disciplinary problems because teachers are unable to provide individual attention to so many boys and girls in such a few minutes of a class period."

THE REAL SUFFERERS: The real victims of the school crisis are the students. Shortage of teachers and classrooms means over-crowded classes, employment of teachers without adequate training, and, in some cases, curtailment of subjects offered.

For some time it has been generally agreed the only way out is through Federal aid. In 1955 a White House Conference on Education called for Federal funds for schools. Since then, school bills have been introduced in each session of Congress but none has passed. Southern Democrats have opposed the bills because they called for non-segregated classes. The Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers and other business groups have lobbied against the proposals on grounds of "inflationary spending." In addition, both political parties have enjoyed blaming each other for failing to act on the crisis.

ASK YOUR CONGRESSMAN: This year Congress had a choice of bills. One was introduced by Sen. James Murray and Rep. Lee Metcalf, Montana Democrats, which would provide $4.4 billion in four years for school construction and salary increases for teachers. To the budget-conscious Administration the proposal was heresy. It countered with a bill introduced by Rep. Peter Frelinghuysen (R.-N.J.) which would allocate Federal funds to be matched by the states to local school districts to pay off bonds issued for school construction. Since the aid would follow school construction, no funds would be charged against this year's Federal budget. There was no provision for aiding teachers.

But neither bill got out of committee. School aid, like most social legislation, is being saved for an election year.

If you wonder why Johnny can't read, you should ask your Congressman.

On tour with Premier Khrushchev

(Continued from Page 1)

tweaks, as stupid as they are nasty, are minor in comparison with the column written by Hearst's Jim Bishop on the day Khrushchev arrived. After clothing him in "a $24.50 brown suit flapping around his fat little legs" (it was well-cut worsted), he went on with a crocodile concern about "the safety of the visiting premier. Some of my work in books is built around assassination, and I wince when I think of the task of the U.S. Secret Service. They have to protect the man whom millions of Americans regard as the greatest threat to their lives."

Would somebody get Bishop's point?

No one has, and contact with Mr. K makes the "threat" vanish. What is he like? We've been around him long enough to give some impressions.

He is a short man with a wide waist but you couldn't call him a fat man. He's too sturdy for that and his boundless energy, quick gesticulations and movements don't go with the fat man picture. He has a fringe of white hair topping a ruddy face which does not show in the photographs. His face has wrinkles around the mouth and eyes which are the mark of a man who laughs a lot. And that he does.

When he listens to a translation, he is intent; then almost before the translation is finished there's a slight smile and a narrowing of the eyes which tells you that he has formed his answer. And what comes out is not a quip but a sharp and witty reply which, even if it does not answer the question directly, makes its point exactly.

NO HAM: He gives the appearance of complete self-confidence and assurance, and you get the feeling that he is himself at all times. The phrase "showman" does not suit; if he is center stage all the time, that's where history put him—and he knows it with the knowledge of a man who does not trifle with his role.

Is he ever a ham? "If you're looking for ham," said one long-time Washington correspondent at the National Press Club, "watch someone like Everett Dirksen. Not this guy; he's for real." Real he is, whether he pulls toward him for a bear hug a little girl who has given him a bunch of flowers; whether he is grappling with a Beltsville turkey or a squirming piglet, or 490 inquiring reporters as he did as the National Press Club on Sept 16.

That was a scene. The 13th floor had never witnessed such an international Babel. The visit was a great leveler: the great bylines and the unknown reporters from Copenhagen, Jakarta and Lowell, Mass., all stood on line, first come, first served, to get into the dining hall—precious reservation card in hand.

A LITTLE GRUMBLING: When we got in we found that they had let the Soviet correspondents in the back door and they had got to the front tables; a little grumbling but not much. The head table guests came in to face a battery of TV cameras and photographers climbing onto every available vantage point and halfway up the windows.

There was the Khrushchev family and the editors of **Pravda** and **Izvestia,** the ministers and Mikhail Sholokhov and his wife (Sholokhov got the biggest round of applause when William H. Lawrence of the N.Y. **Times,** Press Club president, introduced the guests—Russian and American).

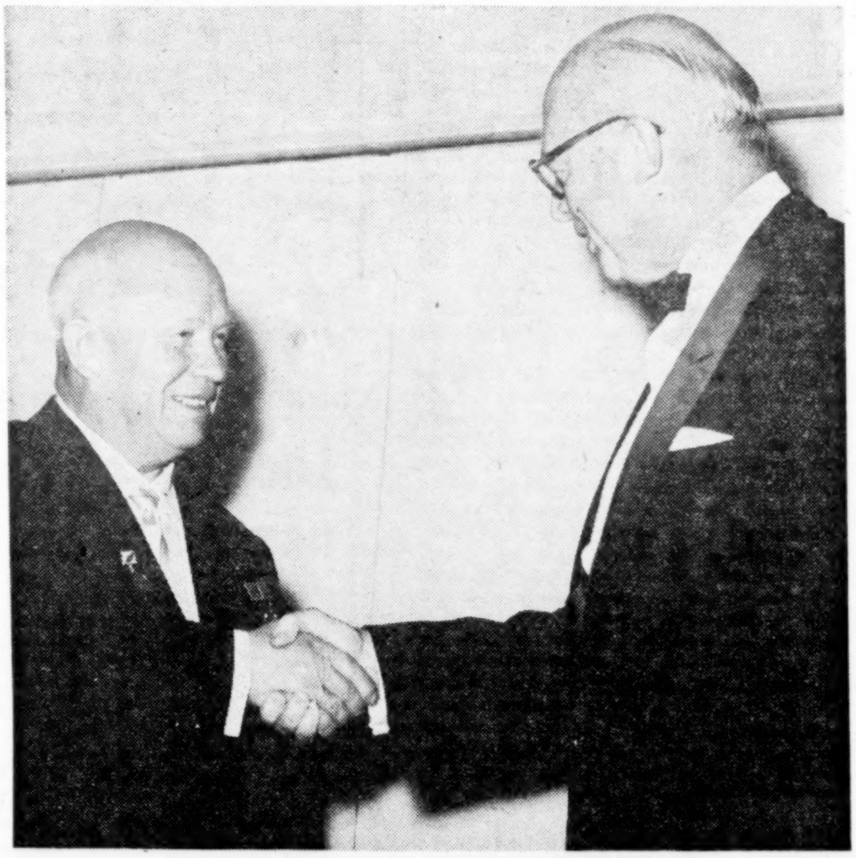
The Soviet reporters worked hard. They sent cables right from the floor. Little arguments grew up at the tables, mostly good-tempered, between Soviet and American reporters. A CBS man introduced himself to a Russian "official party" across the table. "Oh, CBS," said the Russian, "why are you always giving a poor impression of our premier?" "Well, you don't understand," said CBS, "you see the American people have a deep distrust . . ." But the rest trailed off as Lawrence got the TV signal to introduce Mr. K.

NO VERBAL BRICKS: As he spoke the Russians at the head table listened intently. Mrs. K looked over to her husband from time to time; the pride and the concurrence were apparent. The daughters and the son looked straight out, a little shyly. Their expressions did not change much. The Soviet editors shifted their chairs to watch the speaker. And this is what he said:

"You will hear my interviews, speeches, you will report my statements. I beg you, gentlemen, to try to understand me aright and to convey correctly all that I say. And if I do drop a verbal brick occasionally, ask me again—I shall willingly explain my thought, for I do not want a wrongly interpreted word to clash with what I wanted to say."

We all heard it; some listened and heeded, others went their own preconceived way. For proof, read your local papers.

Then he spoke of the general purpose of his visit: "We would like to reach agreement with your government on issues of vital importance. These issues are many, but first of all I should like to mention the easement of international tensions and abolition of the cold war, disarmament, a peace treaty with Germany, world trade and improvement of the relations between our countries."



THE HANDCLASP CAME BEFORE THE HECKLING

Later Herbert Woodman (r.), president of the Economic Club of New York, apologized for the "manners" of some at the Club's banquet for Mr. K.

WAR IS MADNESS: He spoke with moving earnestness about war: "In the 20th century mankind has already had two world wars, and they claimed more victims than any war in the past. Now that people have learned to control the energy of the atom, and rockets have been developed capable of covering thousands of kilometers in a matter of minutes, the most advanced planes, warships and tanks used in World War II look like toys compared with the latest means of warfare. Under these circumstances it would be sheer madness to allow a new world war to come to a head. To ensure peace and to banish war forever from the life of human society is the noble aim to which all people aspire . . . We are confident that war is not inevitable in our time."

Of Germany, he said it was simply the aim of the Soviet Union to make West Berlin a free city and not to absorb it into the East German republic. He spoke in a manner of conciliation and there was clear indication that he was open to argument. But about Germany itself and the future he was firm:

"Why do we insist so much that a peace treaty be concluded with Germany? Because the absence of a peace treaty poisons the relations among scores of nations. It would be impossible to provide conditions for a stable peace in Europe without eliminating the vestiges of the last war."

LAYING OUT THE COURSE: It was a quiet speech and there was no room for applause and no striving after it. Mr. K was at the beginning of a momentous visit and he was laying out the course. As he spoke, questions on cards kept moving off the floor to Lawrence. At the conclusion Lawrence chose ten questions and gave himself the first one. He told what he described as possibly an "apocryphal" story about a man who sent up to Khrushchev at the famous "revelation" speech of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party this question: Where were you when Stalin was committing his crimes? Mr. K supposedly asked the speaker to rise and identify himself. The speaker did not. Now you know, Mr. K supposedly said, where I was.

The question made a coward of Mr. K and as he listened to the Russian translation, his face became grim. He said: "I shall not reply to this question which I look upon as being provocative, and I would like to take this opportunity to deny any such malicious rumors and lies." There was an audible stir of embarrassment in the room, an embarrassment which was expressed openly later by many members of the National Press Club over Lawrence's questionable taste.

UNITY STRESSED: For the most part Mr. K stuck to the formula of stressing the things that could unite the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., and put aside a question on Hungary. He could ask a few such questions of us, he said with a grin. Why was he going to China immediately after his trip here? That was a complicated question, he said with an even bigger grin, and suggested that if "journalists not only write, but read, too," then certainly they would know that China had a revolution too and it was ten years old on Oct. 1, and he was going to a party. Finally he read the newspapermen a Little Lenin Lesson on the progress of the world from feudalism to communism and his time was up.

To emphasize that his trip was not merely one of sight-seeing, he announced at the Press Club that he would have an important statement on disarmament at the United Nations on Sept. 18 (see Kumar Goshal, p. 1).

ON TO NEW YORK: From the Press Club Mr. K, trailed by four Army busloads of reporters, went on a whirlwind sight-seeing trip of Washington, the highlights of which were the Lincoln and Jefferson memorials. Then to a 90-minute session with members of the Foreign Relations Committee and back home to dress for a dinner at the Soviet Embassy for President Eisenhower.

The next morning the sleek black cars flying the Hammer and Sickle converged on Union Station, followed by the inevitable olive drab press buses, and the Premier and his party boarded a special train to New York. There were three cars of official party and seven cars carrying 400 reporters.

NEW YORK

THE QUIET TRIP through the countryside of Maryland and New Jersey (Mr. K chatted with Ambassador Lodge and others in the official party and lookout on fields with crops) ended in pandemonium in the baggage room at Pennsylvania Station where New York City bid its visitor welcome. The reason for the baggage room was security. Amid hissing of steam engines and under overhanging pipes the polite speeches were made and the entourage whizzed through Manhattan's garment district across town and to the Waldorf-Astoria.

New York's police were out in force—3,300 assigned to the occasion—and they really did a job. The general press consensus was that New York's security was far better than Washington's. And, as in Washington, the reports gave a frosting to the crowds. Along the short route to the hotel more than 200,000 New Yorkers turned out. The closed limousines sped through at (for New York's usually jammed streets) an unusual 40 miles an hour.

The security and the speed in each city make the reports of "chilly" reception almost ridiculous. The crowds could hardly react even if they wanted to, and the impression persists of curious and intensely interested people— as witness the knots of people and parked cars at almost every grade crossing on the rail trip from Washington: people with field glasses and people astride fences hoping to catch even a glimpse of the visitor

The beautiful words

ON A LODGE-GUIDED tour of the Lincoln memorial—Mr. K was informed by our UN delegate, his host on the nationwide tour, that Lincoln was "the man who ended slavery and started us on the path to full equality."

"That is why we respect Lincoln," said Mr. K. "This is why we bow to him and honor him."

Then Lodge read the last paragraph of the Second Lincoln Inaugural address engraved on the Memorial wall: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive to finish the work we are in . . . to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and all nations."

When he finished, Lodge said: "And we still believe in that today."

Said Mr. K: "Those are beautiful words."

passing through at 70 miles an hour.

THE BIG CITY: New York was New York: the demonstrators with black flags and mourning bands and insane eyes, jammed into bizarre clusters by police on horseback . . . a man holding a gold cross above the crowd as though to exorcise the devil in our midst . . . photographers pushing and shoving and yelling to Lodge to "spread it out so we can get one more of him" . . . Mrs. K at **The Music Man** on Broadway getting warm applause from the crowds ("She stole my last laugh by leaving two minutes before curtain time," said star Robert Preston, "but who in the world could have anything against Mrs. Khrushchev?" . . . Mr. K getting stuck in an elevator at the Waldorf and good-naturedly hiking five flights up to the 38th floor . . . "It's a shame what he did in Russia," said a demonstrator in the first-day crowd. "Dear Americans, why do you permit him to come?" "Oh, shut up," said a voice up front.

And then the civic reception and the speech at the Economic Club, attended by 2,000 leaders in finance and industry (see Report to Readers, p. 2). This is the more serious part of the visit and for the occasion, after the quips and the sallies, the visitor puts on his reading glasses and gets down to business. And here one gets a new impression of the man.

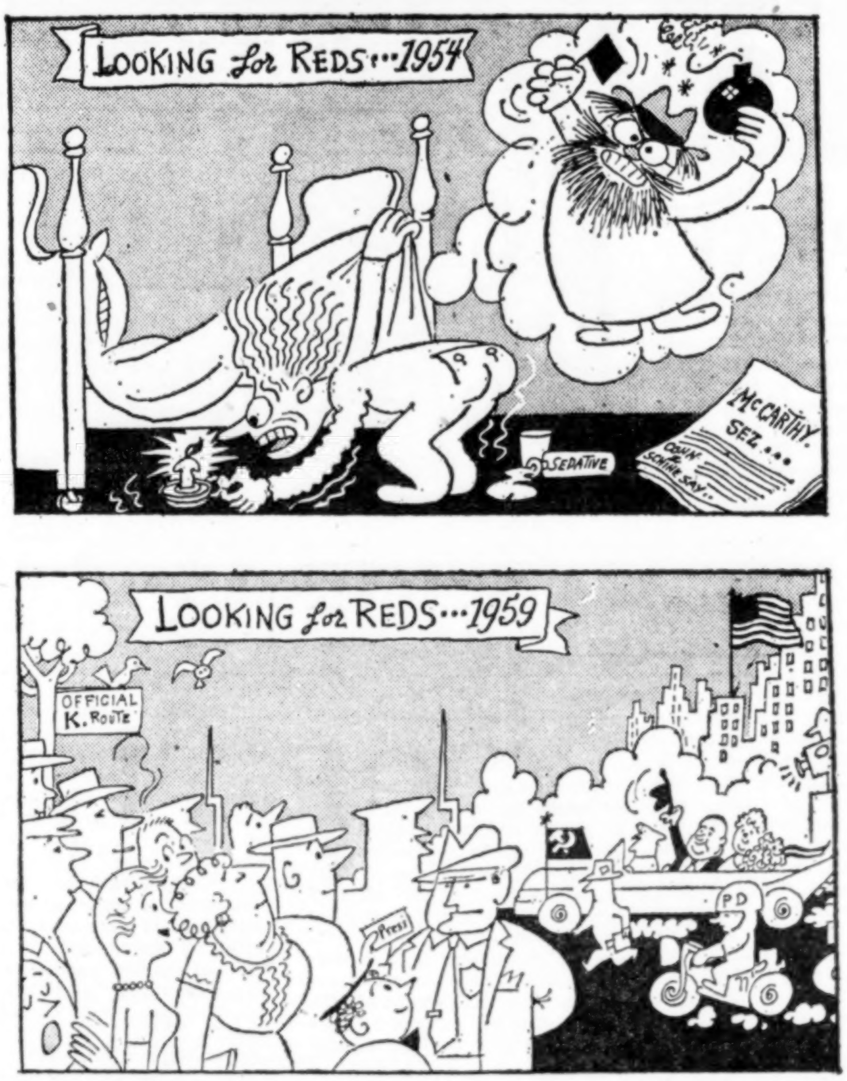
SHREWD AND PROUD: He is the Soviet man—the one we used to read about being in the making, but whom we never got to see. Rather, he is the bridge between the old Bolsheviks and the new Soviet man. Unlike the newer generation he does not have the formal schooling and the remarkable knowledge they demonstrate, but he has the shrewdness, wit and pride of the self-made man who learned the hard way.

Unlike some of his old colleagues, he possessed the flexibility to see that the course of history had to change the course of events and planning within the Soviet Union. With his old colleagues and his younger ones he shares one thing above all: a pride in the accomplishments of the revolution and an insistence that he—not for himself, but as the representative of his country—be treated as an equal.

That it seems to this observer, accounts for the flare-up at the Economic Club dinner, when he scolded some of his audience for rudeness. It came when he was asked why the Russian people were not allowed to listen to American broadcasts, why there was no free distribution of Western newspapers, magazines and periodicals, why the Soviet Union censored dispatches of American correspondents. Mr. K began his answer: "I am here at President Eisenhower's invitation. We agreed our discussions would not concern third countries and that there would be no interference in the internal affairs of each other's country."

NINA KHRUSHCHEV
She charmed everybody

STRAIGHTFORWARD: At this point there came up from the floor shouts of derision and cries of "Answer the question." Mr. K stopped, his face grim. He said: "I am an old sparrow and you cannot muddle me. If you don't want to listen, all right. I can go . . . I come here as the representative of a great people who made a great October Revolution, and no cries can do away with the great achievements of our people."



Yardley, Baltimore Sun

OUR CHANGING AMERICA

There it was, as straightforward as the man himself. There were those in the Economic Club audience (and there will surely be those in this audience) who feel it is a mistake not to allow other newspapers and voices into the Soviet Union; there will be some who will even say that Mr. K's citing of the ban on Paul Robeson's travel abroad for many years is a "you-too" answer. But his reply was direct: That's our business, he said, and let's get on with the job of seeing where we can agree; we know quite well that there are enough points of disagreement.

The pride in achievement comes out in the exchanges between the visitor and his hosts. This quotation Mr. K has in various forms: "If you like capitalism, and I am sure you do, God be with you. Continue in your efforts. But take care. A new system has emerged, a system that has started to tread on your heels; and any time you lag behind, we will forge ahead."

FDR HONORED: If these competitive excursions on the merits of capitalism vs. communism seem to becloud the real purpose of the exchange of visits—the easing of tension and the opening of a road to more talks—then it would seem that the tone was set by Mr. Eisenhower's representatives. And the visitor has almost been forced to reply in kind. Whether it will get better or worse as the journey continues, it is hard to say. Nothing is lost by the exchanges, but nothing is gained. As Mr. K keeps repeating: We know your potential and you know ours. Neither is going to change the other. That, at least, should be the point of departure.

September 18 in New York meant Hyde Park to do honor at the grave of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Empire State and Wall Street (with all the corny copy that went with it)—and the United Nations.

In the muffled atmosphere of the UN, and in the velvet reactions of the diplomats, it was hard to gauge the reactions to Mr. K's press-created "bombshell" on disarmament. That is, the bombshell was manufactured in advance, and then the press decided that it was not a bomb but an egg. "Same old stuff," was the comment heard in the press galleries where 400 reporters listened, and 800 more sat in conference rooms to watch the speech on TV screens—the largest coverage in the history of the UN. "A grandiose scheme" . . . "too visionary" . . . "a call for utopia" . . . " he could hardly have been serious with this grandstand play."

The call for ultimate sanity had become a journalistic ping pong ball.

EN ROUTE TO LOS ANGELES

A MIDNIGHT FLIGHT across country provides a hiatus to think about the trip thus far and about the massed press. It has been a long time since this reporter has been out from behind a desk on a cross-country assignment, and it is safe to say that it has been a long time since most of the reporters on this trip have been on such an assignment—if ever.

American reporters have always been known for their cynicism and skepticism. On this trip they have passed into the realm of active negativism. Most of the American reporters are hostile to the visitor and their comments in private run to a disturbing conformity of sneers and boredom. It is almost as though they feared to express an individual hope for the future; it would be running against the pack.

Most of the foreign press—European and Asian—are different. They are quieter and much more intimately involved. They listen to their American colleagues in amazement, and to an individual American, on occasion, they express this amazement and ask how a reporter can bring a preconceived prejudice to such a momentous event. One British reporter said: "I've got a stake in this. I don't mean just me; I mean all of us. How can they treat the story this way?"

THE HOPE: A young Scandinavian reporter asks: "What do you think of the effect of the exchange?"

"All to the good," we reply. "Especially on public opinion."

"But do you think the Americans will give up Berlin?"

"Do we have it now? I thought it was German."

"I mean, will they agree to give it to the East Germans?"

"Nobody has proposed that they do."

Then sensing the gnawing worry in the young reporter, we shifted the questions and asked him about himself. He was 27, married and had two young children. The worry became clear. Then he said:

"Do you think we'll have peace?"

"I certainly do."

He looked almost as though he would cry. "Thank you for saying that," he said.

(There'll be more on the press next week.)

LOS ANGELES

THE SECURITY was tighter than ever, and so were the warnings against any kind of demonstrative welcome. In fact, the people of Los Angeles were kept miles away from the premier when he arrived, and his car, under police escort, boiled through the streets past good-sized crowds which looked as though they were watching a tennis match.

At the airport, Mayor Poulson gave what Los Angeles reporters described as the shortest speech of welcome ever made by this prolix politician. Mr. K got the point, pocketed his prepared speech of acceptance and made his shortest acceptance speech to date. In his remarks, Poulson said Los Angeles was the city where the impossible happened.

A couple of hours later it did. It happened at the Twentieth Century-Fox movie lot. Spyros Skouras, chairman of the board, was co-host with Eric Johnston, chairman of the Motion Picture Alliance, at a luncheon which made the Academy Award annual look pale. More than 300 Hollywood stars came out on their day off to break stuffed squab with the Soviet premier. Marilyn Monroe flew out from New York for the occasion.

ANOTHER DEBATE: Again at the luncheon the Great Debate took place. Spyros Skouras told his story of the immigrant boy who made good under capitalism and Mr. K broke in with his story of the miner's son who made good under communism. Skouras was no match for his guest; his stars said later that

(Continued on Page 9)

Where else but Hollywood?

LOUELLA PARSONS wrote in the Los Angeles **Examiner** the day after the Hollywood party: "Never in my years of writing about Hollywood have I seen as many stars, directors and producers as were assembled at the luncheon honoring Nikita Khrushchev. It is probably the only occasion that would have permitted Elizabeth Taylor and Eddie Fisher to be under the same roof with Debbie Reynolds."

ACTOR CHARLTON HESTON, greeting noted Soviet author Mikhail Sholokhov at the luncheon, and wanting to be polite, said: "I have read excerpts of your books."

Sholokhov, a man with impish humor, smiled brightly and said: "Thank you. When your new film **Ben Hur** reaches our country, I will go see excerpts of your performance."

BOOKS

Life of McCarthy misses the target

LONDON

THE NEW BOOK by Richard H. Rovere, the **New Yorker**'s Washington correspondent*, scores clever hits all around the target but adds zero to our understanding of the phenomenon known as Joe McCarthy. It does throw valuable light on the "sophisticated liberal" school of U.S. journalism of which Rovere is a successful member. He has brought off the feat of writing a McCarthy biography, in the main factual, which leaves a nastier taste than did the late Chief Inquisitor himself.

Rovere has not a tear to shed for the multitude of good Americans driven to ruin or suicide, nor does he even enquire into the motives of hundreds of victims in "taking the Fifth." While documenting the particular frauds by which McCarthy "held two Presidents captive" and made gibbering monkeys out of the U.S. Congress and press, Rovere keeps his aim prudently away from the colossal general fraud of which McCarthy was temporarily the leading exploiter.

The "communist conspiracy," according to which all enemies of fascism and upholders of the Bill of Rights were **ipso facto** traitors to America, was an invention and it was not McCarthy's. It was dreamed up by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce for reasons that are historically quite clear, and was already a going concern in the hands of J. Edgar Hoover and Rep. Dies, long before the McCarthy era. Hoover was indeed, as Rovere writes, the man who "more than anyone else knew what a fraud McCarthy was" and could have exposed him—but in doing so he would have exposed himself as a far worse swindler.

BY GENUFLECTING even now in the opposite direction from these facts ("only a Communist or an idiot could have denied that the Communist threat to the U.S. was real and great"), Rovere exposes his own school of journalism in a most devastating way. Sophisticate that he was, he cannot explain why even he "took the relevance for granted" of the mountains of photostatted "data" which McCarthy juggled before the eyes of the press. (His implication that Communists may have been conniving behind McCarthy to discredit an essentially noble cause is a new low even for this kind of sophistication.)

The press should not be blamed for its cooperation in hoodwinking the public, because it "lacked the technical resources" to expose the fraud. The public wanted "facts," and "it was a fact" that McCarthy said his gibberish was facts.

Rovere himself came to "shrink" when McCarthy would "grip my shoulder," and to be critical of his more extravagant crudities. (This of course was necessary to hold a **New Yorker** job, as opposed to the "great patriot" approach necessary to hold a job with Hearst.) But even now Rovere cannot conceal a grain of admiration for McCarthy, a "hero of evil." What most distresses him is that McCarthy never really believed in his own "conspiracy," but merely exploited it as a "political speculator." This is probably a correct appraisal but one is tempted to comment that, if McCarthy had any saving trait, this was it.

THE "SOPHISTICATED" approach calls for ribald treatment of Cohn and Schine, the two mudlarks whom McCarthy sent on a European junket for "data," but this leads Rovere on to very thin ice when he comes to the Rosenberg case in which Cohn was one of the prosecutors. Europe justifiably "laughed its head off" at Cohn, a youth who "reveled in publicity and loved the hunt for its own sake," but no question arises in Rovere's mind as to the justice of the Rosenberg trial. The best he can come up with is that Cohn's "anti-communism" was perhaps "less of a caprice" than McCarthy's because Cohn was Jewish, and "it seemed terribly important to many Jews" to join the hue and cry. Rovere tells us—an interesting admission from such a source—that Cohn's "Jewishness" was what qualified him for his role in the Rosenbergs' martyrdom, since "by prearrangement the entire prosecuting staff and the judge were Jews."

THE LATE SENATOR
A "hero of evil"

To see the whole political witch-hunt era clearly one must go back to Salem—as Arthur Miller did in **The Crucible**, and Reuben Ship in **The Investigator**, while Rovere was entertaining **New Yoker** readers with popgun salvos at the unnecessary vulgarity of McCarthy's inquisitorial techniques. If it is true that "no institutions of any value disintegrated" as a result of McCarthy, this was in spite of Rovere and 99% of our journalists.

But Rovere is not looking in the right place for "disintegration." American society as we once knew it was already sick before McCarthy, and McCarthy was a symptom rather than a cause. Posterity may even be grateful to him for holding up a mirror before America, in which it was able to see the hideous ravages of the disease and finally recoil in horror.

—**Cedric Belfrage**

**SENATOR JOE McCARTHY, by Richard H. Rovere. Harcourt Brace, New York. 280 pp. $3.95.*

Book Notes

GRACEFUL in typography and inviting in brevity, **As Unions Mature*** proceeds on three assumptions: (1) that general economic conditions over the next decade will be the same as they have been during the past decade; (2) that organized labor will grow faster than the total employed population expands; (3) that labor will not again split into rival centers, as during the period of AFL and CIO division from 1935 to 1955.

Lacking the stimuli which might result if any of the foregoing assumptions were different, labor's tendency to central control and away from union democracy will continue—along with continued erosion of union ideals. In brief: "The formative stage of American unionism is now largely complete . . . American unionism has been maturing, and the features of institutional middle age should be increasingly evident in the years ahead." Automation as a factor which might ruffle future union complacency, scarcely clouds Prof. Lester's crystal ball at all.

**AS UNIONS MATURE, by Richard A. Lester. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J. 171 pp. $3.75.*

STEFAN HEYM REPORTS

Socialism 1959

STEFAN HEYM, author of **The Crusaders** and **The Eyes of Reason**, is an old friend of the GUARDIAN. Back in our earliest days on Murray Street, on a visit one night after hours, we let him run our elevator a couple of times under the careful supervision of editor Cedric Belfrage. He has gone far in science since; the latest evidence is his brief and enjoyable **Visit to Soviet Science**, which occupies 68 of the 132 pages in Liberty Book Club's latest Prometheus Paperback, **Socialism 1959***. The other 64 pages are devoted to **China Shakes the World Again**, a collection of excellent first-hand articles on China—its commune system, agriculture, labor-capital relations and economic growth—originally published by **Monthly Review** magazine.

Heym's interviews in the Soviet Union (in 1958) started with Prof. E. K. Fyodorov, head of the Soviet Committee for the Geophysical Year, who told him to expect space trips to Mars and Venus "in our lifetime, yours and mine." Later, after Sputnik Three had gone up, another scientist promised manned space-ships to the same planets within 20 years; and a third talked of landing parties on the moon who might "heat their hot dogs with the gas of Crater Alphons."

Since Heym wrote the report of his visit, the Soviets have hit the moon just about when and where they said they would, so the rest of what they revealed to Stefan Heym, of the present and future, should merit a gathering respect.

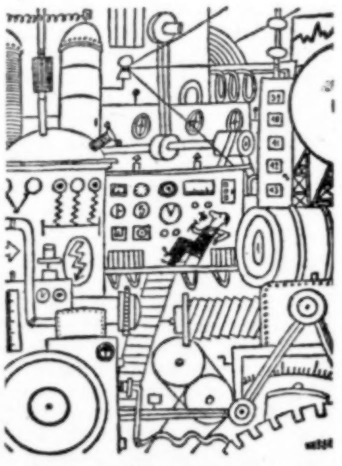
● A Professor Lebedov, with a blonde girl assistant just like in the movies, introduced him to Bystrodjestvuyuchtchaya Elektronnaya Skhotnaya Mashina, a high speed electronic computing machine called BESM for short, which does 10,000 operations a second, the fastest in Europe. Heym wanted to know whether they were going to take out after the U.S. machine that does 15,000 operations a second. No, they said, their next target was a 100-200;000 per second model; and they were already planning a further stage capable of 1,000,000 per second.

"We'll need them, too," said Professor Lebedev.

● A Professor Rychovsky, technical scientist, brought Heym up to date on a "self-organizing system," an automation wonder which will produce radio parts one day, automobile parts the next, radar equipment, anything it is directed to do in its line with change-overs not involving the touch of a human hand. The machine would also replace any of its own parts which might break. He would have the main problems solved in two years, he said.

● Another automation man, working on a universal automatic line, said the main problems were already "licked" but saw problems ahead in developing a class of engineer-workers for the automated age. Heym sees automation bringing graver problems to capitalism, since "how much surplus value can a capitalist get out of one worker supervising an automated factory?" The Soviet scientist felt similarly that "antagonistic contradictions will ultimately slow down the progress of automation under capitalism."

● According to a Professor Zhuse, atomic power stations are already old-fashioned, clumsy and expensive—meaning those which use atomic power to make steam to drive turbines to produce electricity. His prophecy: direct conversion of radioactivity into electric current, machines run by the rays of the sun, daylight stored to be poured out at night, the warmth of spring at man's command.



The Socialist perspective on automation

● And, for the kitchen, thermo-coupler refrigerators with no motor, no noise, gas, odor, moving parts or repairmen—at half present costs. Heym ordered one for delivery (in East Berlin) by 1960.

—**John T. McManus**

**SOCIALISM 1959, a Prometheus Paperback published by Liberty Book Club, 100 W. 23rd St., New York 11. 132 pp. $1.65 ($1 to Liberty Book Club members).*

PUBLICATIONS

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On tour with K

(Continued from Page 7)

the boss had come out second best. They said these things ought better to be left to the diplomats; let's entertain our guest.

After lunch they did, and even Hollywood had never seen anything like it. On Stage 8, with several hundred members of the press in the grandstand, studded with the stars who didn't want to go home (practically all of them) two scenes of the movie **Can Can** were shot for the edification of the Khrushchevs (sitting in a special balcony on the set) and the official Soviet-American party. Frank Sinatra was master of ceremonies. Introducing a number with Maurice Chevalier, he said the song was about live-and-let-live. "Not a bad idea," he said.

BREAKTHROUGH: Afterward Mr. K. came down to congratulate the actors and several hundred persons closed in. It was the closest we had got to him on the whole trip, and the breakthrough was a smash hit on both sides. At midpoint, it seemed that Mr. K had been let out of his closed car, and at least a piece of America had been allowed to say "Welcome" up close. The excitement was high in Los Angeles that Saturday night.

Outside the Twentieth Century-Fox gate, an enquiring TV reporter asked people waiting for a glimpse of the visitor why they had come out. He got the best reply from a 10-year-old boy who looked at the reporter as though he were crazy.

"This is HISTORY!" he said.

SAN FRANCISCO

THE REAL BREAKTHROUGH in the Khrushchev tour came appropriately enough in this great non-conformist city. As the big black limousine drew into the plaza before the plush Mark Hopkins hotel on Nob Hill, a crowd of 10,000 was waiting and broke out in a loud cheer. The enthusiasm was high and Mr. K returned the waves. He broke away from his security guard and with beaming smile greeted the throng.

Mayor Christopher, runnning for reelection, told the visitor there would be no ideological discussions, just welcome. Mr. K said he never minded a good argument as long as it was not rude. So pleased was he by the reception that he later appeared on a little balcony thirteen floors above the street.

The reception was in marked contrast to the official Los Angeles greeting. There the hostility of Mayor Poulson continued at a civic dinner where the tired "we will bury you" theme came up again. Mr. K read the Mayor another lesson in manners; he was hopping mad. But he was not alone. Lodge and the State Dept. entourage were tearing their hair over Poulson's boorishness. They told him so and then pleaded with Christopher not to allow a repetition.

WARM WELCOME: "If these mayors want votes," said one U.S. official, "they should do it some other time. Mr. Khrushchev seems really sincere in his efforts to find a common meeting ground where both sides can talk."

The caution to Christopher was not needed. Actually the change in the atmosphere was already evident in Los Angeles and became more apparent on the 470-mile train ride Sept. 20 to San Francisco.

In a series of short stops Mr. K got a warm welcome. Santa Barbara was a gay sight. Crowds packed the station platform and many people held up peace signs. Everywhere there were families with children. The Santa Barbara Sunday paper headlined its story of the previous evening in Los Angeles: "Thou Shalt Not Kill Is Mr. K's Peace Plan."

KHRUSHCHEV AND HARRIMAN
The former governor played host

At San Luis Obispo the crowd was even bigger. Here Mr. K was enveloped in the throng and he loved every minute of it. He said later that he had broken out of his "house arrest" at long last. He said the American people "were good and kind—just like the Russians," and he was delighted to meet them face to face.

STORIES CHANGED: Word must have gone ahead to Salinas and San Jose because there the security tightened and the waiting crowds were kept off the platforms altogether. But in the press cars many jaundiced journalists who had been sending back the usual cool reports were scurrying to kill their earlier stories after Santa Barbara and San Luis. There is after all still some pride in the craft.

Mr. K paid a surprise visit to the press cars en route, stopping to greet correspondents he had known in Moscow, having a pleasantry here and there. His stamina is astonishing and his enthusiasm for life never seems to lag. Among other things he told the reporters he thought the performance of **Can Can** the day before was a "mild form of pornography." The dancing, he said, was more attractive than the "back-sides." It was not a comment on the girls' anatomy but rather on the taste of his Hollywood hosts. It really was some view from that balcony.

SPIRITS UP: It may have been bottoms up on Saturday, but on Sunday it was spirits up.

The Los Angeles **Times said** Sept. 20: "In just 5½ hours, America's jet plane dimension, the whole temper of the Khrushchev grand tour was transformed."

DR. LINUS PAULING TO ATTEND

Australia Peace Congress gets backing of trade union movement

By Bill Irwin
Special to the Guardian

MELBOURNE

WHAT PROMISES to be the most representative Peace Congress Australia has seen will be held in Melbourne next November. It has already received wide support, especially from the labor movement, and visitors from abroad will include Prof. Linus Pauling of California.

The Australian and New Zealand Congress for International Cooperation and Disarmament has more than 100 public figures as sponsors, including Prof. Sir Marcus Oliphant, Australia's top nuclear physicist; Air Marshal Sir George Jones (retired); and Lady Jessie Street, who represented Australia at the initial sessions of the UN's Commission on the Status of Women at Lake Success.

Other distinguished visitors from abroad will include J. B. Priestley, British novelist and playwright; Dr. J. Rotblat, Professor of Medical Physics at St. Bartholomew's Hospital London, and a member of the Pugwash Continuing Committee; Mrs. S. Supeni, a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the government of Indonesia; Govinda Reddy, member of the Parliament of India; Mrs. Indrani Rahman of India and her dance company; and Mulk Raj Anand, well-known Indian writer.

A feature of the preliminary work is the support of the trade union movement, represented by the Australian Council of Trade Unions. In Victoria the Melbourne Trades Hall Council, representing the unions in the city where the Congress is to be held, has pledged its backing.

LABOR BACKING: Individual unions giving support include railroadmen, boilermakers, mechanics, building workers, street car and bus workers, longshoremen, seamen, municipal employes, metal workers, garment workers and others.

There was a time when the Australian Labor Party red-baited peace congresses, but today ALP Federal president F. E. Chamberlain is among the sponsors; and the Victorian State Conference of the ALP unanimously decided to support the Congress and called on affiliates to send delegates.

The Congress has already drawn fire from the Right. The first shot was fired by R. G. Casey, the Australian Minister for External Affairs, with the charge that the Congress "seemed designed simply to advance the policies of world Communism." The Dean of Melbourne, Dr. Babbage, caused a nationwide stir when he withdrew his sponsorship of the Congress on the grounds that Communists were among the organizers. The press sought out the other sponsors to see whether they would follow the fleeing Dean. None did.

ALL WELCOME: At a press conference, the Rev. Alfred Dickie, chairman of the Congress and a member of the World Council of Peace, explained that anyone was welcome to take part in the Congress, regardless of politics, who sincerely wanted world peace.

"Our traditional freedom of assembly and speech are precious to us," he said. "Woe betide Australia if McCarthyism becomes a feature of Australian life."

Supporting the Congress, but independent of it, is the Victorian Peace Council, which reports this type of grass-roots activity:

- The crew of the Triellis, flagship of the British phosphate fleet working between Australia and the Pacific Island of Nauru, declared their vessel a "peace ship" and pledged monthly donations. The idea caught on, and now there are 16 peace ships on the coast.
- Building workers in Melbourne, on hearing a peace speaker, ordered a large flag inscribed: "Labor On This Job Is Peace Pledged." It will fly from the crane driver's cab in the heart of the city.

What makes Walter run?

WE ARE CONVINCED that California's public schools have been spared a very damaging blow to their morale and independence by the decision of Chairman Francis E. Walter not to witch-hunt out here with his Un-American Activities Committee.

The fact that after two postponements he turned tail and ran away from the holding of any hearings whatever into alleged Communism in the public and private schools of this State strongly supports the general inference that his suspicions were outrageous.

An eminent Justice of the Supreme Court has written that "exposure and punishment is the aim of this committee and the reason for its existence." Since it chose not to come here after all, the shrilly publicized bag of evidence that Walter was holding must have had holes in it.

What made Walter run for cover? The cancellation was announced in a reply to a protesting letter from the California Teachers Association. This powerful group had questioned whether the proposed hearings had any recognizable relationship to legislation. This was the point made by **The Chronicle** in several comments, and it had been taken up by others. In short, the public represented by these agencies was aroused over the prospect of a witch hunt in the public schools and resentful of the House Un-American Activities Committee's poking its nose into a State affair.

—From an editorial in the San Francisco **Chronicle**,

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Disarmament plan

(Continued from Page 1)

after complete disarmament, "contradictions between states, particularly between states with di. rent social and economic systems, will remain." These, it said, would be resolved "by peaceful economic competition, by the struggle of ideas" and by "peaceful measures prescribed by the UN Charter."

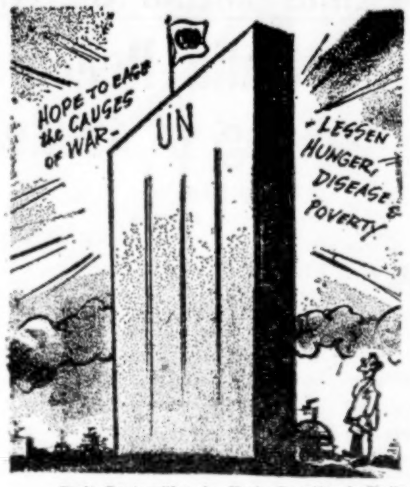
BAN TESTS NOW: Khrushchev said that, as "realists in politics," the Soviet government understood it would take time to work out such a broad disarmament program. This, he added, "should not hold up the solution of such an acute and fully mature question as that of the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests for all time." He hoped that a test suspension agreement "will be concluded and put into effect without delay."

Again as a "realist," the Soviet Premier said that, "owing to a variety of reasons," the Western powers might not be ready "to embark on general and complete disarmament." In that case, he said, Moscow was ready to discuss such partial disarmament and steps to strengthen security as (1) "the creation of a zone of control and inspection with a reduction of foreign troops on the territories of the corresponding countries of Western Europe;" (2) "an atom-free zone in Central Europe;" (3) "the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territories of European states and liquidation of military bases from foreign territories;" (4) the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty members; and (5) "an agreement on the question of the prevention of surprise attack by one state upon another."

ROLE OF UN: Khrushchev emphasized the potentially great role the UN could play in relaxing international tension. Such tension, he said, "cannot continue forever;" either it will increase in intensity and explode into war or by joint efforts states will "abolish this tension."

In this situation, he said, "the peoples expect the UN to redouble its efforts in the matter of creating an atmosphere of trust and mutual understanding between states and consolidating the general peace."

To be effective, the Soviet Premier said, the UN must recognize Peking, without whose participation "it is inconceivable . . . that a stable and reliable solution of major world problems could be achieved;" promote the economic advancement of states freed from colonial bondage and protect them against continued foreign economic exploitation; and try to solve crucial issues by unanimous decision rather than by majority vote.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UN
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Walt Partymiller in York Gazette & Daily

Keep up the good work!

'MEDIEVAL CRUSADES': Khrushchev deplored the efforts of some states "to exploit [the UN] in their own interests." He asserted that today "it is impossible to undertake crusades as the medieval fanatics did to wipe out heretics with fire and sword without running the risk of confronting humanity with the greatest calamity in its history."

The UN, he said, was "the embodiment of the idea of peaceful cooperation between states with different social and political systems." It would be more far-sighted for the UN, he argued, to follow a policy of "joint quest for mutually acceptable solutions" to safeguard world peace. As a minimum step toward this policy, Khrushchev said, the UN at its inception established the rule of unanimity of the permanent members of the Security Council on substantive issues.

The Soviet Premier greeted with pleasure the representatives of the Asians and Africans who had achieved freedom and offered them Soviet economic aid in cooperation with other states. He pledged Soviet support for those colonials still struggling for freedom. He said it was about time the world was relieved of the tension created by West Berlin and Taiwan. Throughout his speech ran the refrain of cooperation, peaceful competition, negotiation and "full-blooded . . . international trade" to strengthen "mutual confidence between the nations."

THE TIME HAS COME: He urged the heads of governments to heed the worldwide longing for peace and said: "Everything indicates the time has come to usher in a period of international negotiations, conferences, and meetings of statesmen in order that . . . the pressing international problems should find their solution." He thought the Eisenhower-Khrushchev exchange of visits "can be a milestone in the sequence of events insuring an improvement in Soviet-American relations."

There was nothing essentially new in what Khrushchev said, but his statements seemed profoundly to affect the Asian, African and Latin American delegates who applauded when the Western delegates kept their hands folded on their laps. The effect resulted from the new context in which the statements were made.

DIFFERENT SITUATION: This became evident when Khrushchev recalled that, between the two world wars, Soviet envoy Maxim Litvinov had proposed comprehensive disarmament. At that time, he said, opponents of disarmament attributed the proposals to the Soviet Union's economic and military weakness. The opponents were wrong at that time, he added, and "it is now universally manifest that talk of any weaknesss of the Soviet Union is preposterous."

Khrushchev spoke with utmost gravity, without efforts at oratorical effects. It was obvious he was putting on record in broad strokes the basic international policy of the Soviet Union, prior to his final conference with President Eisenhower.

Some Western diplomats called his comprehensive disarmament proposal sheer propaganda. Sen Wiley (R-Wisc.) called it a grandstand play. But House Speaker Rayburn (D-Tex.) said "'part of it is good . . . I don't believe we can go for all of it."

Sen. Humphrey said: "We should give it careful scrutiny and study." Adlai Stevenson believed Khrushchev's proposal "must be taken seriously." He added: "The only way to eliminate the scourge of war is to eliminate the means of war. And Mr. Khrushchev has proposed just what we all have preached—a disarmed world."

PENTAGON NIGHTMARE: Khrushchev's comprehensive disarmament proposal will undoubtedly be hotly debated in the Assembly. The U.S. delegation will be hobbled by the fact that, as a New York **Post** editorial said (Sept. 20), "total disarmament remains a nightmare for the Pentagon." The **Post** added:

Lamont to broadcast

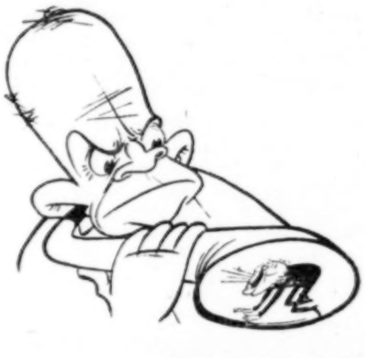
CORLISS LAMONT is scheduled to make three broadcasts over New York radio station WRCA on successive Thursdays beginning Oct. 1 on his round-the-world travels of this spring and summer. The broadcasts will be sponsored by the GUARDIAN, for which he was a roving correspondent. The time is tentatively set for 7:45 to 8 p.m.

"The Russian challenge cannot be dismissed by ridicule. Until the West comes up with a disarmament plan that is sabotage-proof at home as well as abroad, the headlines Khrushchev made will haunt us in many places."

On UN recognition of Peking and on the issue of Laos, the U.S. will be handicapped by the allies it maintains in Asia. New York **World Telegram** correspondent Albert Kaff reported from Taipei (Sept. 19):

"Nationalist China (Chiang Kai-shek), South Korea and South Vietnam base their foreign policies on total destruction of the Communists. . . . Nationalist China and South Korea would probably welcome a wide conflict involving Communist China and the U.S. Given a reasonable chance of success without detection, Seoul and Taipei might even attempt to rig an incident dragging the U.S. into war."

LOOK TO IKE-K TALKS: Khrushchev's speech will haunt the UN General Assembly's current session, supplying a frame of reference to other issues placed on the agenda: a Special UN Fund for Economic Development of underdeveloped countries; Draft International Covenant on Human Rights, supported by a majority but opposed by the U.S., although the U.S. initiated it; racial discrimination in South Africa and South Africa's annexation of the former mandated territory of Southwest Africa against UN wishes; Ireland's proposal for preventing wider dissemination of nuclear weapons and Morocco's proposal for preventing France from exploding its first nuclear bomb over the Sahara.



Neues Deutschland, Berlin

Adenauer: " . . . And keep on saying, no, no, no . . ."

Then there is the Afro-Asian proposal for Algerian freedom. Timing it with the opening of the Assembly, French President de Gaulle announced a "new" policy on Algeria, which offered the Algerians three alternatives through a referendum: complete integration with France, regional autonomy or independence through partition whereby France would retain the part rich in mineral resources.

Many UN observers hoped that Khrushchev's final talks with Eisenhower before he leaves the U.S. would result in enough Washington-Moscow understanding to give the General Assembly a push in the direction of some constructive solutions.

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Embassy Auditorium Oct. 6, 8 p.m.
Speaker: Rev. Stephen Fritchman
Pianist: Waldemar Hille
Ausp: Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born

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Auspices: Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship

Chicago Council of Emma Lazarus Clubs presents **MARTHA SCHLAMME** in concert of songs of many lands.
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Date—Oct. 10, 8:20 p.m.
Prices: $2.20, $1.65, $1.10. — For tickets call Mrs. Isabel Fiddler, CO 7-8097.

DETROIT

Hear **MAUD RUSSELL** report on her recent 3-month tour of China, Tues., Sept. 29, 8 p.m., at the Tuller Hotel, Park Room, 14 floor. She will show slides of her trip. Sponsor: Global Books, 4829 Woodward (upstairs).

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Ausp: Committee to Honor Gus Hall.

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Make reservations now for the 9th **ANNUAL TESTIMONIAL DINNER** honoring the Legal Panel. Sat., Oct. 24, Park Manor, 607 So. Western Av. Unusual cultural & musical program. Prominent trade union leader, John McTernan, Master of Ceremonies. Elect your delegates to this banquet now. $15 per person. Ausp: Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. MAdison 5-2169.

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Adm. $1. Question Period

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Oct. 14—**China**: The Chinese "Chalk Circle" (Brecht's modern version).
Oct. 21—**Japan**: Love & Lust in Japanese drama, today's "Porgy & Bess."
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Mondays at 8:30 with Henry Klein
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LLOYD BARENBLATT speaks on why Supreme Court refused to uphold his defense of First Amendment against House Un-American Activities Committee. **Fri., Sept. 25, 8 p.m.** Ausp: **Militant Labor Forum**, 116 University Pl. (off Union Sq.) Contrib. 50c.

• • • •

Murry Weiss, national committee member, Socialist Workers Party, discusses **"Socialist Election Policy in 1960."** Question & discussion period. Fri., Oct. 2, 8 p.m. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place.

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  JOSEPH NORTH
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THE GALLERY

PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV'S TRIP has already provided enough anecdotes and quips to fill this space several times over. Following are a few you may have missed:

On meeting Central Intelligence Agency Director Allen Dulles at the White House dinner, Mr. K said: "I know you. I read the same reports you do—and probably from the same people."

Dulles answered: "I hope you get them legally."

"We should buy our intelligence data together," K suggested. "We'd have to pay the people only once."

TO THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE MR. K said: "If history should show that capitalism proves more able than the Communist system I would be the first to raise my hand in favor of capitalism. . . . However, I might have to decide which I should join—the Republican party, or the Democratic party. That would be a difficult choice because I don't think there's much difference."

At the close of the meeting Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (R-Ill.) praised the skill of Mr. K's interpreter, Oleg Troyanovsky. He said: "We all think he deserves a raise in pay."

Troyanovsky interposed modestly that as son of a former Soviet Ambassador to Washington he had spent half his life in the U. S. and was really half American.

Mr. K said that in view of that, the Appropriations Committee should vote to pay half the salary increase, "and I will pay the other half."

september 13th–19th
no nuclear weapons
let Britain lead
nuclear disarmament week
september 13th–19th
no nuclear weapons
let Britain lead
nuclear disarmament week

BRITAIN'S ANGRY YOUNG "MEN" PICKET 10 DOWNING ST.
Playwright John Osborne and his wife, actress Mary Ure, were among the theatrical celebrities who picketed the Prime Minister's residence during Nuclear Disarmament Week, Sept. 13-19.

FOR THE TRIP Mr. K seems to have boned up as much on Groucho as he did on Karl Marx. On the train from Washington to New York he told a story about how Russians, Frenchmen and Englishmen drink whiskey: The Frenchman will take a sip and say, "Oh, it burns." An Englishman will say, "I'll have a go at it" and down the drink in one gulp. A Russian will take a swig and say: "Huh! What a drink! They've only just invented it and already they've started to dilute it.". . . At the moment Mr. K was calling for disarmament at the UN, N. Y. subway employes were distributing copies of a government pamphlet, "Family Fallout Shelters.". . . Headline in the N. Y. **Herald Tribune**: "No Peace Scare by Khrushchev.". . . . At a luncheonette near the GUARDIAN office the day after Mr. K's arrival, the counterman complained to a customer: "Did you hear what that s.o.b. said about capitalism?"

—Robert E. Light

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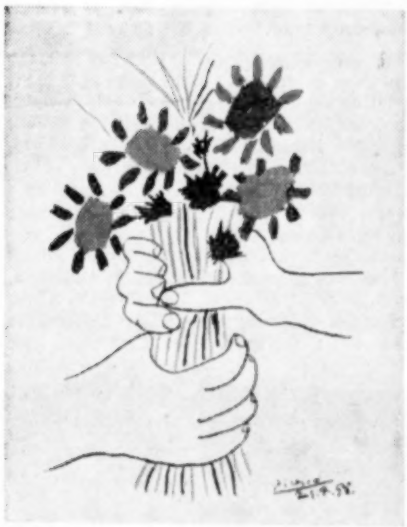
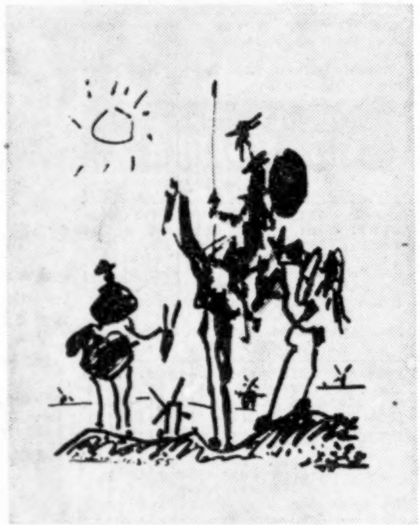
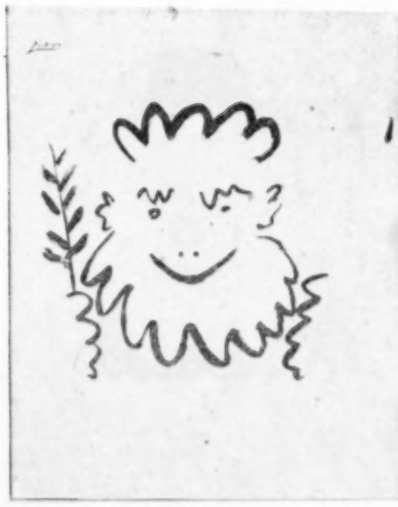


(Left) **LE BOUQUET**—An exquisite, 7-color reproduction of a combination water color-and-crayon work created by Picasso exclusively for the **Committee de la Paix.** Bright and warm, on heavy stock, 25½" high, 19¼" wide — just $3.50.

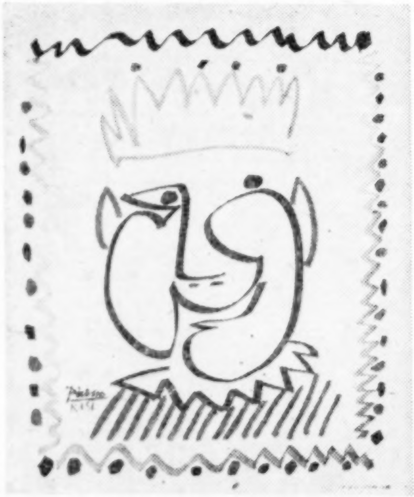
(RIGHT) **DON QUICHOTTE** — A delightful rendering of the Spanish knight and his faithful aide and steed. Printed in black on heavy Don Blas paper. 22" x 14¾". A wonderful buy at $3.





(LEFT) **CARNAVAL**—An engaging 4-color reproduction of a gay Carnival figure, wonderful for children's rooms! Gay and festive in red, yellow, blue and black. 21½" x 17½". Just $3.50.

(RIGHT) **"PERE-NOEL"**—Picasso at his merry best! This charming drawing of "Father Christmas" is also the subject of a Guardian Christmas card. 21½" x 15", on heavy stock, in orange, black and brown. $3.



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the SPECTATOR

City full of kids

Excerpts from a letter home printed with the kind permission of a touring Spectator, attorney Abraham L. Pomerantz of New York:

LENINGRAD

THANKS TO DR. GOLDBERGER, one of our friends here, we were able to visit a playground of children 7-11. It is situated in Kirov Park. As we entered, we saw some 200 or more children dancing and singing under the leadership of a man of 60.

Immediately he spotted us, he called out "Americans?", and when we said "yes," he invited us to the platform from which he directed the children. The leader, whose English was excellent, then introduced us to the children as our "American friends." (He translated for us everything he said to the kids.)

The children sang for us, danced for us, and then—the most delightful part—two charming little girls came up to the platform, and escorted me down the steps; two boys did the same for mother; and other teams of two escorted the people with us to the dance area. All of us then did a simple folk dance, each of the Americans dancing in tandem with a Russian child at each hand.

Then the leader announced in Russian and English that he had very good news (which we had not heard before). He stated that he had just heard over the radio that Khrushchev had been invited to visit Eisenhower, and had accepted. And the children applauded enthusiastically—as we did.

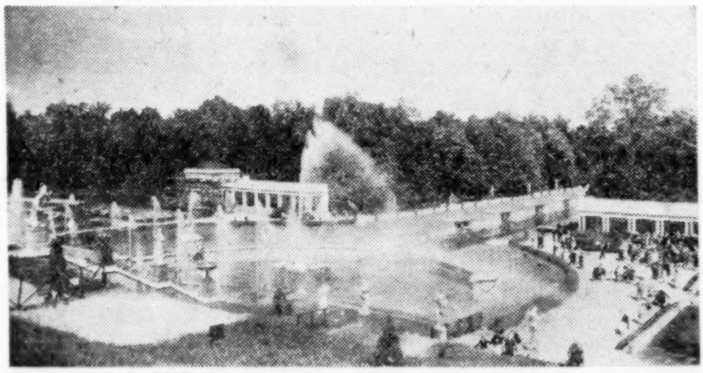
We left the kids, but not until my arm was weary from shaking a forest of little hands. How they love to shake hands in Leningrad! It is a nice feeling.

IN THE ROOF RESTAURANT of the Europa Hotel, at the next table to us, was a wedding party. The bride and groom were about 19, coy, sweet, and very much in love. I got into a conversation with the mother of the bride, who was Jewish. So we had a wonderful time discussing things in our broken Jewish—hers as badly fractured as mine. When we stated to the whole party of about 30 that we were Jews from New York, there was fervent applause; and when I stated that my mama came from Riga, and my papa from Minsk, there was a round of toasts and hand-shakes. It was wonderful!

Mother gave the bride a beautiful powder compact which we had bought at the United Nations. The joy of the bride and groom knew no bounds, and we left the wedding celebration as if we were old friends.

LENINGRAD IS FULL OF PARKS. This was vacation time, and the parks were full of kids. We saw one knot of children, and out of the group came sporadic bursts of laughter. On drawing closer, we saw the cause of the merriment. There is a hidden water spray; if you walk over certain unmarked cobblestones water shoots up and you get quite wet. The game consists of trying to get across the area dry. I decided to do some clowning.

So, with dozens of kids looking on, I walked across the space, head turned skyward, in mock admiration of the beautiful sky saying: "Beautiful day"; and when the inevitable deluge engulfed me, the laughter was loud and long.



ONE OF LENINGRAD'S MANY PARKS

Such a reception called for an encore. So I made the return trip, this time posing as the leisurely absent-minded professor reading a book: **How to Speak Russian**; and this time I must have tripped off the whole Gulf of Finland. I was soaked, and ran off the field in a very undignified and unprofessorial hurry, again to the great hilarity of the Russian kids.

Leningrad is unquestionably the cleanest city in the world. Nobody ever drops a cigarette in the street; if anybody did he would (our guide says) be told by his neighbor to pick it up. The celebrated subway are shiny clean. The air is cool and clear, and positively refreshing, as the result of an excellent ventilation system. The trains run on two-minute schedules and even though we traveled on them during "rush hours," there were no crowds, and seats for all. The subways to me are important not only for themselves, but as a symbol of the government's interest in people—a manifestation which is evident wherever you turn.

CORRECTION

In the advertisement in last week's GUARDIAN for the Consultative Conference Sept. 26-27 called by the United Independent-Socialist Committee at Fraternal Clubhouse, N.Y.C., the name of the Socialist Labor Party was inadvertently omitted from the list of political organizations invited to present their views. The SLP was invited, along with the Communist Party, Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist Workers Party.